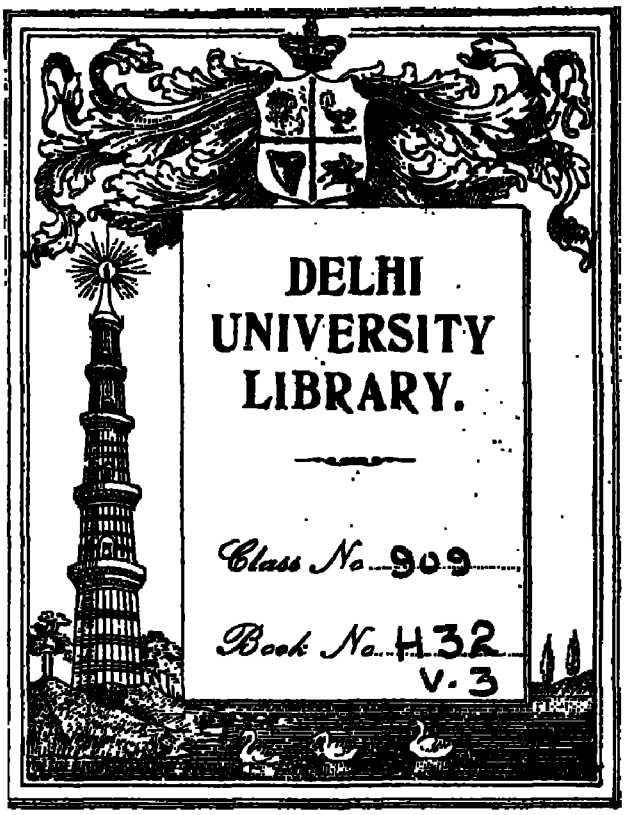

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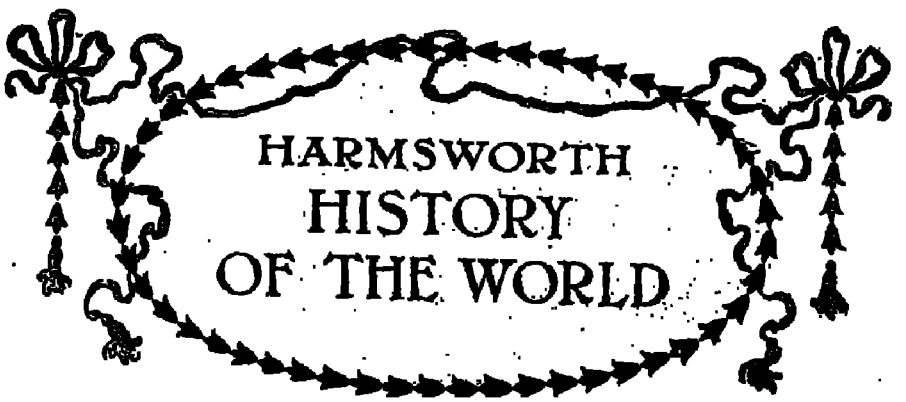
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OF THE WORLD

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TZU-HSI, THE GREAT DOWAGER EMPRESS OF CHINA

# HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

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## THE FAR EAST

MODERN CHINA : KOREA
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AUSTRALIA : PACIFIC OCEAN

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# MODERN CHINA

## RISE OF THE MANCHU POWER

### BY MAX VON BRANDT

THE rise of the Manchu power under Nurhachu at the close of the sixteenth century was in large measure due to the action of a Chinese commander.

In a struggle between two Manchu chiefs, the Chinese troops had given their assistance to one named Nikan, and his enemy, finding himself hard pressed, sent urgent messages for assistance to Nurhachu's grandfather, who came with his son and an army. But the Chinese troops prevailed, and the weaker force surrendered on a promise that all their lives should be spared. The promise was not kept, and Nurhachu's grandfather and father were among the murdered (1583). Nurhachu vowed vengeance for this act of treachery, and demanded that Nikan should be given up to him for punishment. The Chinese commander at first refused to do this, and appointed Nikan overlord of all Manchuria. But in a few years' time Nurhachu was able to put Nikan to death and to win a victory over the Chinese commander (1587). The ascendency which Nurhachu was winning by his successes among the tribes enabled him to consolidate them and give them a strength which, singly, they had not possessed. But it was not until 1613 that he overcame all opposition among his rivals at home. In 1616 he assumed the title of Emperor and issued a proclamation of war against China, based upon "seven wrongs" done to him by that country, the first of which was the murder of his father and grandfather. He was enabled by the faulty tactics of the Chinese general to defeat in detail a large army sent to crush him. Advancing gradually in spite of continued opposition, he captured Tieh-ling, Mukden, and Liao-yang, and made Mukden his capital in 1625. But at Ning-yuan, on the west coast of the Liaotung Gulf, he experienced a repulse and died the next year, 1627.

**The "Seven Wrongs" Done by China**

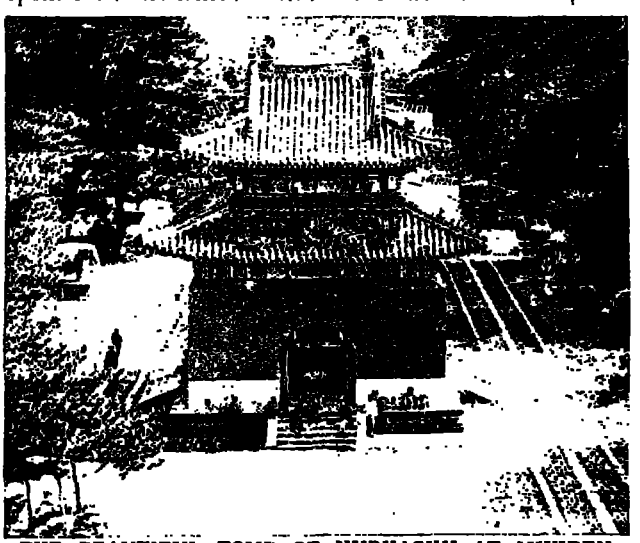
Tai Tsung, his successor, found it necessary to abandon the siege of Ning-yuan and the advance along the coast, and, marching along the plateau westwards, he swooped down through the passes and presented himself before the walls of Peking in 1629. But the mighty walls and gates were too strong obstacles for him to overthrow, and though he repeated the invasion in later years and was able to make raids also into Shansi, Peking remained inviolate. But the Chinese Emperor had other enemies than the Manchus. The standard of revolt had been raised by different leaders in the west, in the south, in the Yangtse valley, and in the north, and it was to these internal enemies that the dynasty and Peking were to owe their fall. A rebellion broke out in Shensi in 1630 under a leader named Li Tzu-cheng.

**A March upon Peking**

His successes over the Imperial troops

| EMPERORS OF CHING OR MANCHU DYNASTY | |
|---|---|
| Dynastic title. | Date and title of reign. |
| Tai Tsu ... ... | 1616 Tien-ming |
| Tai Tsung ... | 1627 Tien-tsung Chung-te |
| Shih Tsu .. .... | 1644 Shun-chih |
| Sheng Tsu ... | 1662 Kang-hsi |
| Shih Tsung ... | 1723 Yung-cheng |
| Kao Tsung ... | 1736 Chien-lung |
| Jên Tsung... ... | 1796 Chia-ching |
| Hsüan Tsung ... | 1821 Tao-kuang |
| Wên Tsung ... | 1851 Hsien-feng |
| Mu Tsung ... ... | 1862 Tung-chih |
| | 1875 Kuang-hsü |
| | 1908 Hsuan-tung |

led him in time to aim at the throne, and in 1644 he marched through Shansi upon Peking. Nurhachu, who a few years earlier had removed his capital to Mukden, and had been proclaimed Emperor of a new dynasty, which he styled the Ta Ching, was at the time to the east of Shan-hai-kuan, a fortress at the extremity of the Great Wall, which he had never been able to capture. An army under a Chinese general named Wu San-kuei, was holding the Manchus at bay when news arrived that Li Tzu-cheng was near the capital. Wu San-kuei at once turned his army to defend his master, but before he could reach the capital the gates had been opened by treachery within the walls,



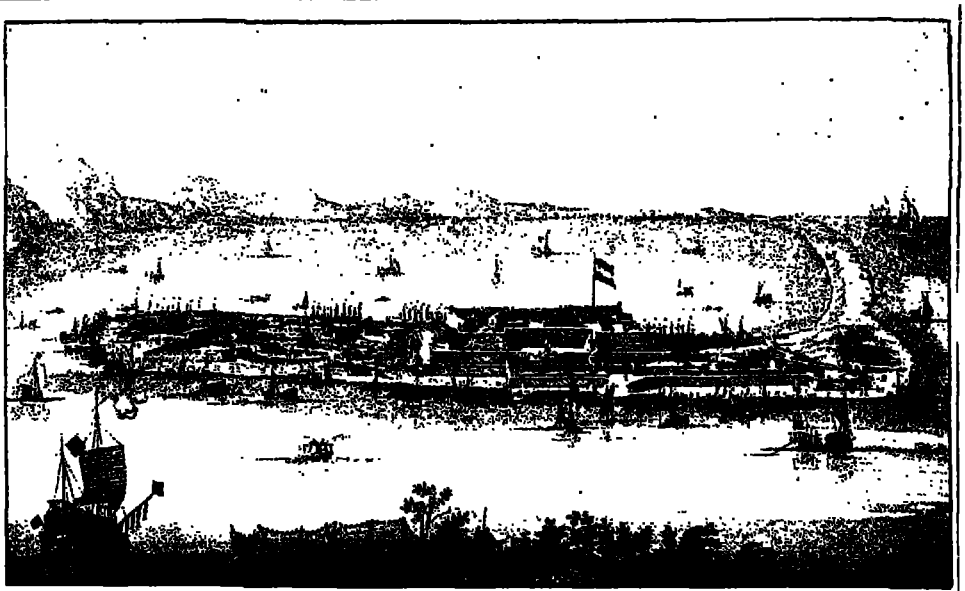
THE BEAUTIFUL TOMB OF NURHACHU AT MUKDEN
Built over a giant marble tortoise, supporting an immense marble table setting forth the noble deeds of Nurhachu, under whom the Manchus rose to power.

and the Emperor, after taking a dignified farewell of his family, had hanged himself within his palace grounds. Li Tzu-cheng then proclaimed himself Emperor and marched out to crush the force under Wu San-kuei, who appealed to the Manchus to assist him in driving a rebel from the throne.

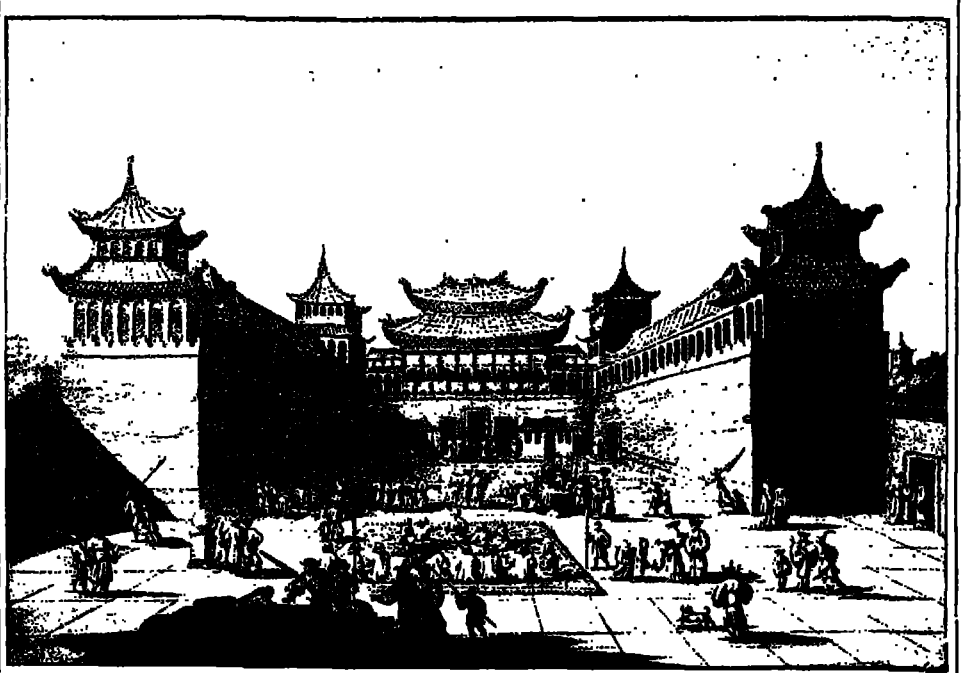
A battle was fought near Shai-hai-kuan where the opportune arrival of the Manchu army turned what threatened to be a defeat into victory. Li Tzu-cheng fled to Peking, gathered what plunder he could collect, and then hurried westwards, pursued by Wu San-kuei. The vanquished troops rapidly dispersed, and finally only a few men remained with Li Tzu-cheng, who met his death at the hands of some villagers inflamed with passion by the excesses practised by his followers. While these events were occurring in the west, the Manchus had entered Peking and the regent had summoned their young Emperor from Mukden. Wu San-kuei, finding himself powerless to enforce his request that the Manchus would retire to their own country, submitted himself to the situation and, together with two other distinguished Chinese, took a leading part in the operations which now ensued to overcome all resistance on the part of the partisans of the Mings.

In 1645 Nanking, which had been made the capital of the fugitive successor to the throne, was captured, and the Ming Emperor was killed. His heir capitulated at Hang-chow; the prince who took his place was executed at Foo-chow, and the last remaining prince, after some successes in the south, fled to Burma, where he was surrendered to Wu San-kuei, who took him prisoner to Yunnan Fu, where he died in 1662.

For his services to the new dynasty Wu San-kuei had been rewarded with the princedom of Yunnan and Kwei-chou, and the two Chinese generals who had followed him in his policy towards the Manchus had also been made princes, the one of Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, the other of Fu-kien and Che-kiang. But their position was so peculiar as to expose them to suspicion, and in 1674, A.D., Wu San-kuei, seeing that there was an intention of depriving them of power, raised the standard of rebellion. One of the other princes joined him for a time, and he received many adherents, both in his own provinces and also in Shensi, but with his death in 1678 the rebellion lost its spirit and it died out with the capture of his son in 1681. The eminent loyalty to his sovereign which induced Wu San-kuei to face Li Tzŭ-chêng with inferior forces, though his father was at the time a prisoner in the rebel's hands and his life would inevitably be sacrificed; his appeal to the enemy with whom he had been fighting for years to aid him in driving out



ZELANDIA FORT AND TOWN BUILT BY THE DUTCH IN THE SOUTH OF FORMOSA



THE EMBASSY OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN 1667
Reception at the Imperial Palace of Peking with presents for the Emperor and Viceroys.

THE DUTCH PIONEERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN CHINA

the rebels; his immediate submission to the force of circumstances when the Manchus, after accomplishing this feat, refused to leave the country; his participation in the campaigns against the last members of his master's family; and, finally, his rebellion against the Manchu Emperor—all these combine to make Wu San-kuei one of the most interesting characters in Chinese history, and one of the most difficult to understand. With the loss of power sustained by the Chinese princes through Wu San-kuei's unsuccessful rebellion, the Manchu dynasty was secured against all further dangers in the provinces. But it was not until two years later that peace was secured on the seas. When the Ming power was threatened by the Manchus, a pirate chief, who for many years had been the scourge of the China coast, threw in his lot with that of the sovereign, against whose fleets he had frequently been fighting. The war was continued by him and his descendants, among whom Koxinga's name is the best known in Europe, and their fleets harassed the Manchus along the southern coast and even for some distance up the Yangtse; but at last they were driven to Formosa, from which they expelled the Dutch settlers at Zelandia and elsewhere, and finally they were crushed by a force which was landed on that island.

**A Man of Complex Character**



KANG-HSI

Better known to Europeans as Koxinga, this emperor was one of the most enlightened who ever sat upon the Chinese throne. He encouraged literature, science, and industrial arts, and was the author of a code of morals.

Kang-hsi, known to Europeans as Koxinga, who had ascended the throne in 1662, was now faced by new troubles in the shape of a rising among the Eleuths in West Mongolia against his power. Though never dangerous to the empire, the wars that followed on this were a constant drain on the Manchu resources. Though again and again defeated, the Eleuths exhibited such vitality that the war continued, with intervals of peace, from 1682 to 1734. The Altai Mountains were then fixed as the boundary between Ili and China, and for a time were regarded as such; but during the years which preceded this settlement the Eleuths were not only fighting in their own country, but also invading Tibet, and on one occasion marching as far east as Shansi with armies said sometimes to have numbered 400,000 men.

The reign of Kang-hsi (1662–1722) is distinguished not only for his patronage of literature, but for the high standard attained in the arts for which China is specially famous. It was the time when the renaissance in ceramics attained its highest level, and enamels gained a technical finish, which was superior to that of the Ming, and which was preserved through the two succeeding reigns. It was in this reign, too, that the exact sciences received encouragement and that the influence of the Jesuit teaching in astronomy was allowed to attain a higher development. Kang-hsi himself was a distinguished scholar, and the dictionary which bears his name is the standard work of the present day. The "Sacred Edict," which is supposed to be read in some public place in every city twice in each month is based upon sixteen maxims, concerning the duties of men in their own families, towards their neighbours, the importance of agriculture, respect for the law of the land, and other subjects, which were promulgated by Kang-hsi in 1671, when he was only seventeen years of age. The maxims in their original form are still inscribed on the walls of public offices, occupying somewhat the same position in China as the "Ten Commandments" in England, and were amplified and expounded in a

**The Ten Commandments of China**



THE APPROACH OF THE EMPEROR CHIEN-LUNG TO RECEIVE LORD MACARTNEY'S EXPEDITION IN 1793

Lord Macartney was sent as an envoy to the Chinese Emperor to obtain trading facilities. The Emperor is shown here being carried to his tent at Jehol to receive the British envoy.

commentary promulgated by Kang-hsi's successor.

Kang-hsi was succeeded by his fourth son, Yung-cheng (1723–1735), under whom the Christians were severely persecuted. More than three hundred churches were destroyed, and the missionaries, with the exception of those resident in Peking and Canton, were expelled from the country. An extensive rising occurred during the reign among the aborigines in Kwei-chou, Szechuen and Yunnan. The movement was temporarily crushed in 1724, but broke out again in 1735 and was severely dealt with by Chien-lung in 1736.

Chien-lung's reign (1736–1795) stands on a level with that of Kang-hsi both for its length and also for the prosperity of the country and the enlightened form of government which prevailed. But troubles on the frontiers were frequent. A rising of the Eleuths entailed a large expedition against them which resulted in the conquest of Dzungaria and Ili and the subjugation of Eastern Turkestan (1760). In Dzungaria and Ili the loss of life during this campaign was appalling, but methods less stern had proved unavailing. About the same time a Chinese army was practically extinguished in Burma, and another army sent to avenge the defeat returned without having secured more than the recognition of suzerainty. In 1762 there occurred the romantic incident of the return of the Turguts from the banks of the Volga in Russia, after an absence of fifty years. Harassed along the whole line of their march, some seventy thousand alone survived out of the hundred and sixty thousand who had started. On their arrival they were treated with great kindness by the Emperor, who assigned them a district in which to reside under a khan appointed by himself. The Roman Catholics met with a very different treatment. The persecutions from which they had suffered in the preceding reigns became much more severe. Ten of the missionaries lost their lives at the hands, not of mobs, as in the present day, but of the government, and hundreds of converts lost their lives and properties. Towards the close of the reign an invasion of Tibet by the Gurkhas led to an appeal to Chien-lung for assistance. Troops were despatched there and eventually the Nepalese were driven back into their own country, where peace was made and tribute was agreed to be paid quinquennially. In 1793 Chien-lung received Lord Macartney's mission at Jehol with great courtesy, and in 1796 he abdicated in order that his reign might not exceed that of his grandfather.

**A Great Pilgrimage Home**

**Persecution of Roman Catholics**

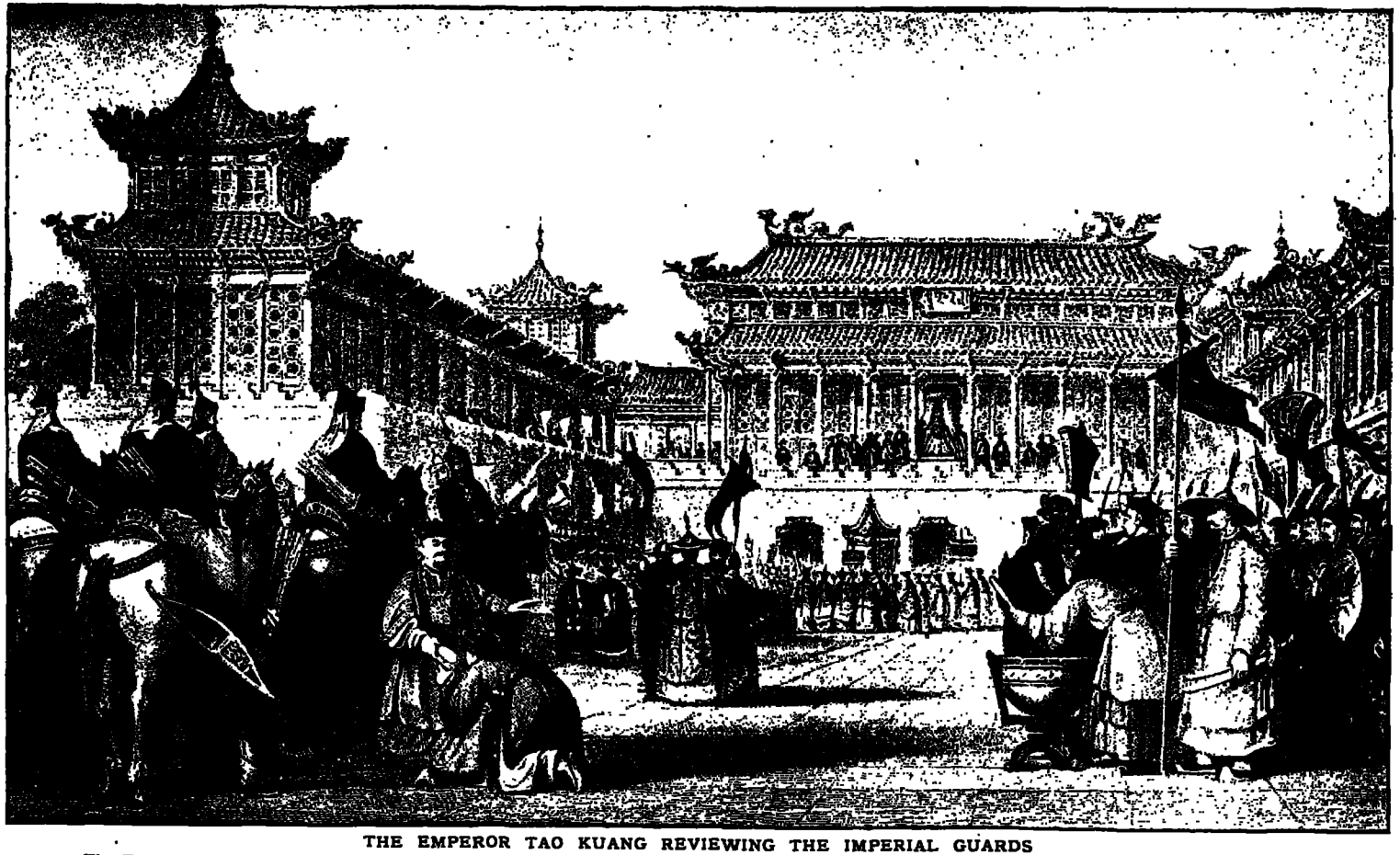


CHIEN-LUNG'S VOW TO HIS PEOPLE

Undertaking to resign the crown to his heir if he lived to the sixtieth year of his reign. He lived, and abdicated in fulfilment of his promise.

With Chia-ching's accession (1796–1821) to the throne the long term of internal peace which had prevailed during his father's reign came to an end. A revolt, organised by the "White Lily Society," broke out in Hu-peh and spread through many provinces before it was put down at a cost of thousands of lives. This was followed in 1813 by another secret society called "Heavenly Reason," which had its origin in Honan and had adherents also in the Palace, where a plot formed for the murder of the Emperor was frustrated by the bravery of his second son, who killed the first of the conspirators and checked the advance of the rest until assistance was forthcoming, a deed which won him the succession to the throne.

It was in this reign that Lord Amherst's mission arrived in Peking (1816), and was turned back because he declined to appear



THE EMPEROR TAO KUANG REVIEWING THE IMPERIAL GUARDS

The Emperor Tao Kuang kept a personal bodyguard of Tartars, whom he reviewed annually in the Court of the Three Halls in the Palace at Peking.

BRITAIN'S FIRST WAR WITH CHINA: THE CAPTURE OF CHUSAN BY THE BRITISH ON JULY 5th, 1840

before the Emperor in his travelling dress immediately after his arrival, and to make the customary Chinese prostrations. The despatch of the missions under Lords Macartney and Amherst had originated in a desire to improve the conditions of British trade at Canton and the relations of the traders with the authorities there.

**The British Gain Foothold in Canton**

In 1684, the East India Company, who had carried on a fitful trade with Foochow and Amoy since 1664, succeeded in acquiring a footing in Canton, where the Portuguese had jealously maintained their monopoly of trade. In 1701, a venture was made to extend the trade to Ningpo, but the exactions of the authorities and the uncertainty of the amount of the fees demanded had prevented any considerable expansion of trade. While the delays and impositions which were consequent upon the absence of any authorised regulations for its conduct embarrassed trade, relations with the authorities were embittered by their treatment of cases of accidental homicide. Some slight improvement in the conditions of trade had followed on Lord Macartney's mission; and had Lord Amherst been received, it is possible that a better understanding between the two countries might have removed the difficulties which preceded the war of 1842, and the necessity for the war have been avoided. But such was not to be the case, and Chia-ching bequeathed to his son a heritage of disaster which the latter ill-deserved.



THE EMPEROR CHIEN-LUNG

He received Lord Macartney's mission and abdicated in 1796 that his reign should not exceed that of his grandfather, in accordance with a vow at his accession.



BRITAIN'S FIRST AMBASSADOR TO CHINA

Lord Macartney, who conducted the first embassy in 1793.

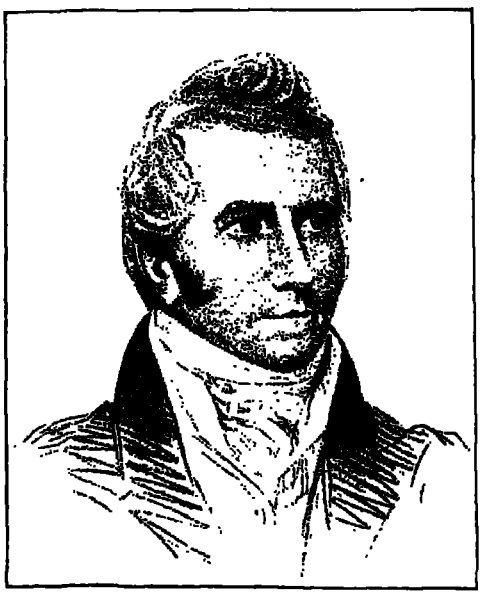
Tao Kuang (1821–1850) was forty years of age when he came to power. His first troubles were in Turkestan, where a rebellion broke out in 1825, under Jehangir. This was successfully overcome, and risings among the Miao-tzu in the Southern Provinces were quieted, partly by arms and partly by diplomacy.

With the end of the East India Company's monopoly in 1833, a new source of difficulty arose in the relations between the authorities at Canton and the British

**East India Company Superseded**

Commissioners sent from England to take the place of the Company's officers. The Commissioners found themselves in an anomalous position, as they were not recognised by the Canton officials, and were not provided with adequate powers to enforce the authority which they claimed over their own countrymen. It is no wonder that, in the absence of previous consultation with his Government, the Emperor failed to understand

the purpose of the change which had been effected by Great Britain; and the Commissioners themselves were not empowered to appeal to Peking when faced with difficulties at Canton which proved insuperable. Lord Napier, the first of the Commissioners appointed, was a distinguished naval officer, who, as a midshipman of sixteen, had been on board the Defiance at the battle of Trafalgar, and on his arrival at Macao, in July 1834, he sailed up the Canton river, ignoring the orders of the Governor of Canton that the passage was not to be made until the Emperor had been consulted. Napier also sent two frigates up the Boyne river, and these being fired on from the forts, the fire was returned and the forts partially destroyed. Two months later, sickness overtook Lord Napier, his men-of-war were withdrawn out of the Canton and Boyne rivers, and he died at Macao, on October 11, 1834. For some time after his death the attempt to communicate on equal terms with the Canton authorities was abandoned, and in 1836 Captain Elliot was driven by the necessity of holding communication with them to accept a position of inferiority.



LORD AMHERST

Greater tact on the part of this British Commissioner might have prevented a war. He refused to kow-tow, and thus was denied an imperial audience.

Meanwhile, smuggling was increasing, and the authority of the Commissioner over British shipping was being defied by some of his own countrymen, who were no longer limited to servants of the East India Company. The Chinese at the same time seized every opportunity of insulting British officials. Correspondence from the latter was returned unopened; Admiral Sir F. Maitland's vessel was fired upon when he visited Whampoa; and the debts due to British merchants from the Co-hong amounted to millions of dollars. While the necessity for some control over foreigners by one of their own people was urgently felt, the Emperor and the authorities at Canton demanded that the Commissioner should be a merchant only, as in the time of the East India Company, and not an official. The difficulties regarding the opium trade were partly due to the fact that, while the Emperor and some few individuals among the high officials were opposed to the introduction of opium on the ground of the injury it was doing to the people and the drain of silver from the country that it entailed, the officials on the spot were, generally speaking, unwilling to put an end to a business which brought them a drug to which they were addicted, and an immense irregular revenue; and the British Government considered that it was not their duty to act as police in Chinese waters for objects purely Chinese.

**Insults to British Officials**

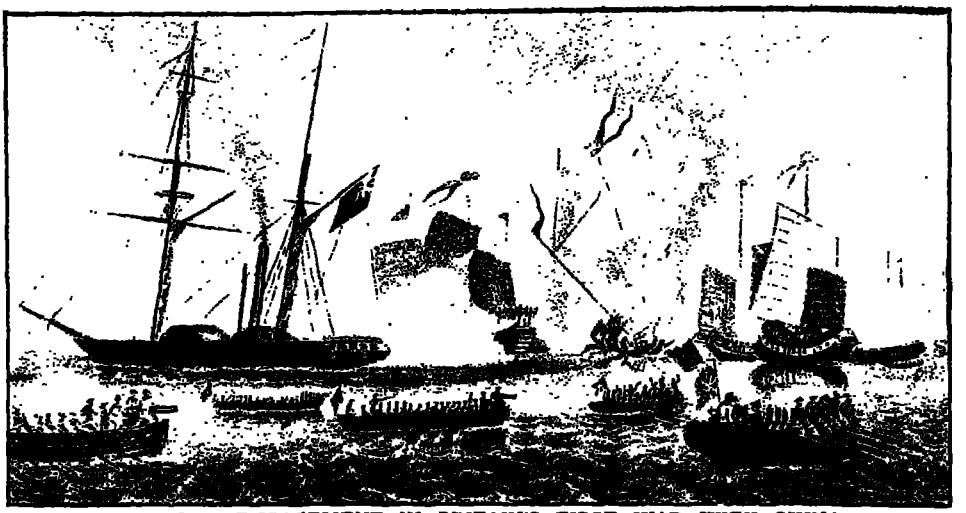
**British Government and Opium**

In 1839, the arrival of Commissioner Lin at Canton, with instructions to put an end to the opium trade, brought things to a head. He demanded the surrender of all opium on board the vessels in order that it might be destroyed, and that all foreigners should sign a bond placing themselves under his control. All Chinese servants were ordered to leave foreign houses, and the supply of all provisions was prohibited until these orders were complied with. Meanwhile, armed boats and bodies of troops were stationed all



ENGAGEMENT OF BRITISH WARSHIPS WITH TAIPING REBELS AT NANKING

Five British ships of war, conveying the Earl of Elgin, Great Britain's Ambassador, up the Yangtse Kiang to Hankow, were attacked by the Taiping rebels who held the land forts.



A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN BRITAIN'S FIRST WAR WITH CHINA

The East India Company's steamer Nemesis and the boats of the Sulphur, Calliope, Larne, and Starling destroying the Chinese war junks in Anson's Bay, January 7th, 1841, as represented in a contemporary drawing.

round the factories to prevent any intercourse, and the surrender of the leading British merchant was demanded. The danger to British life and property became so great that Captain Elliot, who had hurried to Canton, undertook to effect the surrender of the opium; but the blockade and practical imprisonment of Captain Elliot and the merchants continued from March 24th to May 5th, and it was not until May 25th that the last of the British merchants was allowed to leave, and join the shipping which had been ordered to Hong Kong by Captain Elliot, after the surrender of the opium.



KEYING

Chinese Commissioner, who signed the Nanking Treaty with Sir H. Pottinger.

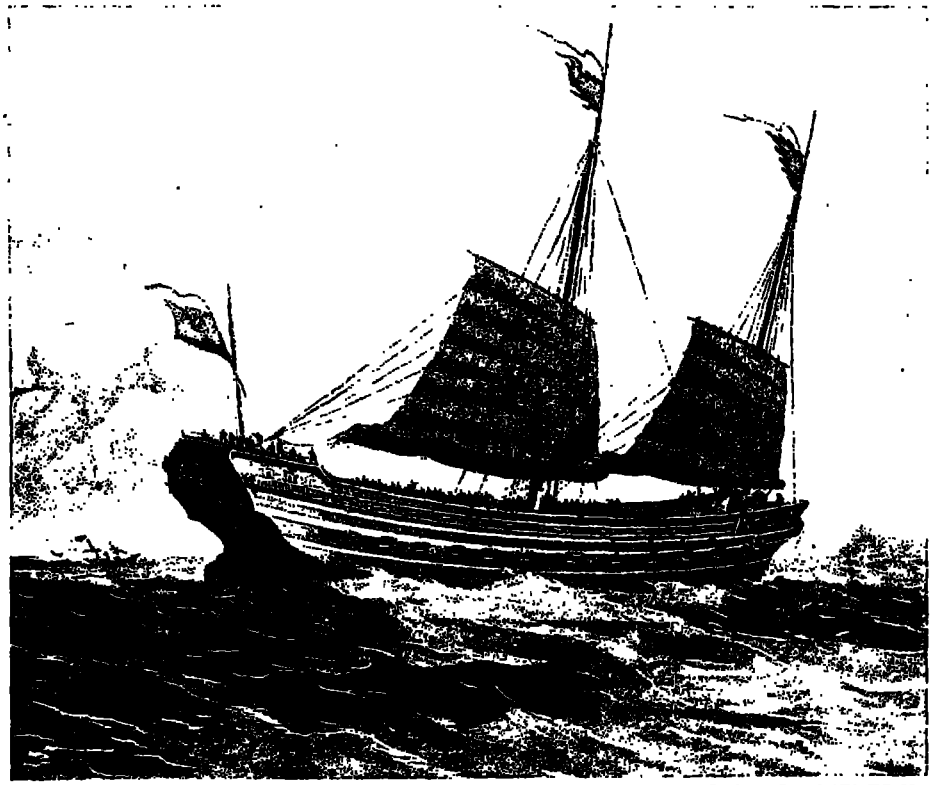
The departure of the merchant vessels, and the consequent stoppage of trade at Canton, irritated Commissioner Lin almost as much as the outburst of trade in opium along the coast which followed on the high prices caused by his



THE BOMBARDMENT OF CANTON ON DECEMBER 28, 1857



THE ANCIENT TYPE OF CHINESE WAR VESSELS



A FIRST-CLASS CHINESE WARSHIP AT THE TIME OF THE TREATY OF TIENTSIN

THE OLD WAR JUNKS OF CHINA

THE CAPTURE OF CHUENPEE, NEAR CANTON, IN THE SECOND CHINESE WAR
One of the operations in the war of 1856–8.

destruction of opium. Again and again the shipping was called upon to return, but the condition demanded of submission to Chinese jurisdiction prevented compliance with Lin's wishes. Attacks on British and other boats, and warlike preparations on the part of the Chinese commander at the mouth of the river, led eventually to an engagement between H.M.S. Volage and Hyacinth and the Chinese fleet. The defeat of the latter provoked an Imperial edict, directing all trade with England to be stopped for ever, and England was at last compelled to undertake the operations which have been stigmatised as the Opium War.

On the arrival of the British forces, the blockade of Canton was promptly proclaimed and the island of Chusan was seized; but further movements were delayed by negotiations begun by Captain Elliot at Tientsin and resumed at Canton. These and later negotiations which followed on a resumption of hostilities, were fruitless, and it was not until Canton had been threatened, and the British fleet had moved up the Yangtse, after destroying the fortifications at different places on the coast, that the fall of Chinkiang, and the similar fate which threatened Nanking, led to the conclusion of a treaty of peace at that city, on August 29th, 1842. The chief conditions were the opening of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai to trade under a fixed tariff; the appointment of Consuls, with whom correspondence was to be conducted on equal terms; the cession of Hong Kong; and the satisfaction of the debts due to British merchants, their indemnification for the opium destroyed, and the payment of the cost of the operations.



FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT GOUGH
Commander of the British Forces in Britain's first war with China, 1840-42. From the painting by Grant.

One satisfactory outcome of the frequent negotiations which took place during the war was the respect which was formed by the negotiators for each other. This and the recognition by some of the higher officials of the superiority of British arms gave promise of the beginning of a new era in the relations of China with foreign Powers. The United States and France were prompt to seize the opportunity of concluding treaties with China, and the subjects of other Powers took advantage of a clause in the treaty under which all foreigners received equal rights with the British at the ports newly opened to trade.

With the payment in 1845 of the last instalment of the indemnity and the evacuation by the British in 1845 of the islands of Koo-lang-soo, or Amoy, and Chusan, the conditions of the Treaty of Nanking were all carried out, with the exception of the clause which required the opening of Canton to trade. As to this there was a dispute as to whether the city itself or the old factory site was intended. In 1846 the right to enter the city was acknowledged, but waived for a time as the authorities avowed their inability to protect foreigners within its walls. In 1847 it was agreed to defer the time of entrance for two years longer, and, unfortunately, when that date arrived, entrance was still refused.

Hsien-feng (1851–1860), on succeeding to his father's throne, soon found himself faced by rebellions in many provinces. Among these the most serious proved to be one started in Kwang-tung by a member of the Triad Society who had



SIGNING THE TREATY OF TIENTSIN, JUNE 26, 1858

After the capture of the Taku forts on the Peiho river the fleet of the Allies proceeded to Tientsin, where separate treaties with each Power were signed by their representatives and the Chinese Commissioners. The picture shows the signing of the British treaty by Lord Elgin. Admiral Seymour, the British commander, is on his left.

received some teaching in a mission school at Hong Kong. Assuming the title of Tai-ping Wang, "Prince of Universal Peace," he proclaimed his kingdom the kingdom of Heaven, and claimed divine powers. Within three years of the first overt act of rebellion, the Taipings had swept across Kwangsi into Hunan, and, following the Yangtse River, had reached and captured Nanking (1853). In May of the same year an army was sent across the Yangtse to the north, and, overcoming all resistance, advanced to within little more than a hundred miles of Peking. Then, apparently, their hearts failed them, and instead of continuing their march, they remained at Ching-hai.



YEH, THE VICEROY OF CANTON
Whose conduct brought about the second British war with China, and who was banished to India, where he died.

a small town on the Grand Canal, where they were soon besieged by the Imperial troops. In April, 1854, an army sent to their relief reached the town, but their friends had already retired, starved out rather than driven away; and in March, 1855, the whole force fell back upon Anhui without having made further advance towards Peking. But the whole country south of the Yangtse remained in the hands of the rebels, together with a large tract north of the river, and it was not until July, 1864, that Nanking was recaptured by the Imperialists, and the power of the Taipings crushed.

In the meanwhile, the obstinacy with which Yeh, the Viceroy of Canton, persisted in refusing to carry out the agreement of 1847, and the accumulation of grievances, which could not be discussed personally with him, produced very serious friction, and in 1856 matters were brought to a head by the "Arrow" incident, when the Chinese boarded a vessel flying the British flag. A fresh war resulted. On this occasion Canton did not escape so lightly as before. The city was stormed, and the Viceroy sent as a prisoner to India, where he died.

The murder, in Kwei-chou, of a French missionary had led France to make common cause with Great Britain in her action towards China, and in the spring of 1858 the allied fleets proceeded to the mouth



HSIEN FENG, EMPEROR OF CHINA
was for years troubled by the rebellion of the Taipings. He reigned from 1851 to 1860.

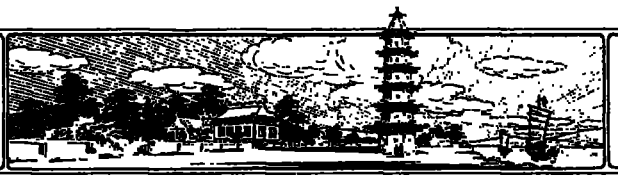
of the Tientsin River. After the opposition offered to them there had been overcome, the advance of the forces was continued to Tientsin, where Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were met by Chinese plenipotentiaries, and after negotiations, the difficulty of which was increased by the presence in the neighbourhood of Russian and American Ministers, who were seeking to gain the same ends without the employment of force, the Treaty of Tientsin was signed.

Apart from the opening of fresh ports on the Yangtse and on the coast, and more definite regulations for the conduct of trade, the chief points gained under this instrument were the right to establish



THE PROCLAMATION OF HONG KONG AS A BRITISH POSSESSION ON JANUARY 29, 1841

diplomatic missions in Peking with the usual privileges, the recognition of the principle of ex-territoriality, and the toleration granted to Christianity. The treaty was signed on June 26th, 1858, and within ten days all the fleets had departed with their unwelcome visitors and the Chinese Government was left with a year's grace to consider the manner in which best to meet the new situation which would arise when the treaties had been ratified, and little dreaming that two years later these same foreigners would materially help to save the dynasty from destruction by the rebels who were then formidable in Central China.





# FIFTY YEARS OF CHANGING CHINA

## BY SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS

THE conclusion of the European Treaties of 1858 opened a new chapter in the history of China's relations with the West. Till then, foreigners can scarcely be said to have enjoyed any rights whatever in the Flowery Land. They had been allowed to trade at five ports—viz., Canton, Amoy. Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai—but were not allowed to wander outside the limits of the foreign settlements at those centres, and were not permitted to hold any direct communication with Peking. The taking of Canton and the capture of the Taku forts altered all that, and Lord Elgin, representing Great Britain at Tientsin, found himself in a position to demand many and larger concessions from the vanquished Chinese.

After many conferences with the Chinese Plenipotentiaries a treaty was signed on June 26th, 1858, by which the Chinese agreed to accept a resident British Minister at Peking, to open to trade the ports of Newchuang, Tengchow, Taiwan in Formosa, Swatow, and Kiungchow, in addition to the old five ports, to allow British subjects to travel into the interior of the country with passports, to recognise missionary work, and to legalise the opium trade.

This treaty was to have been ratified the following year, but the Chinese repented of having agreed to its terms. When, therefore, Mr. Bruce appeared at Taku in 1859 on his way to Peking. to exchange the ratifications, his ships were fired upon from the forts; three gunboats were sunk, and 300 sailors were killed or wounded.

**Chinese Resume Hostilities**

This rebuff was of so severe a nature, and the attitude of the Chinese was so uncompromising, that it was found necessary to wait for reinforcements from Europe. In the following year these arrived in the shape of 13,000 British soldiers and sailors under the command of Sir Hope Grant, and 7,000 Frenchmen, commanded by Gen. Montauban, whose Government had made common cause with us. The allied army soon played havoc with the Chinese defences. They landed at Peitang—seven miles north of Taku—and, meeting with no resistance, took the Taku forts in rear. Here the Chinese fought with wonderful courage, but they were speedily vanquished, and, after a vigorous assault, the fort on the north bank of the river was taken. This earthwork, as Sir Hope Grant had pointed out, was the key to the position, and it had no sooner fallen into the hands of the Allies than the southern forts capitulated. This victory left the way open to Tientsin, where Lord Elgin, who had been reappointed Envoy Extraordinary once more found himself. After the manner of their kind, the Chinese accepted the inevitable and reserved the whole of their endeavours to reducing the terms offered by the Allies and to preventing the allied Plenipotentiaries from going to Peking. Ultimately, the Envoys refused to repeat the error of the previous year in negotiating at Tientsin, and declared their intention of proceeding at once to Tungchow in the neighbourhood of the capital, where they would be prepared to negotiate a preliminary convention preparatory to a final treaty to be signed within the walls of the capital. In order to save time, Wade (afterwards Sir Thomas Wade) and Parkes (afterwards Sir Harry Parkes) were sent forward to arrange the terms. These two officials were received to all appearances cordially by the Chinese Commissioners, the terms of the convention were drafted, and some of those who had accompanied them had returned to the allied lines when a dastardly act of treachery was committed.

**Taku Forts Again Captured**

The ground which had been assigned as the camping ground of the allied forces was secretly occupied by a Chinese army under Prince Sankolinsen, and on Parkes, Loch (afterwards Lord Loch), and others

presenting themselves on their way to Lord Elgin's camp, they were made prisoners and carried off to Peking. Parkes and Loch were imprisoned in the Board of Punishments, while the others were incarcerated elsewhere. This violation of the rules of war was regarded very differently by the two armies. By the Chinese it was looked upon as putting into their hands a lever with which to extort concessions, and by Lord Elgin as an outrage which aggravated the original cause of offence. The Chinese believed that Parkes could, at a word, order the retreat of the allied armies, and that so long as they held him prisoner they could negotiate through him. Lord Elgin gave them little excuse for this fallacy. He at once replied to the emissaries who were constantly arriving in the allied camp that until the prisoners, one and all, were returned he must refuse all negotiations. And in the meantime the Allies marched on towards the capital. After gaining two victories they found themselves before the walls of Peking.

**Treachery and its Reward**

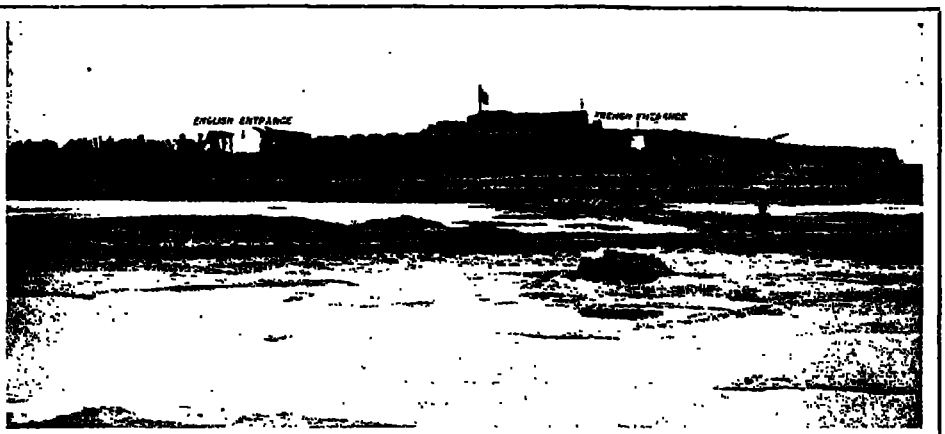
Meanwhile, the Emperor had fled to Jehol, in Mongolia, where he held his court, and indulged in those debaucheries for which he was notorious. At this safe distance he gave orders for the procedure of the war regardless of the useless sufferings he was inflicting on his subjects. At Peking a very different view was taken of the position, and the more liberally-minded officials, headed by Prince Kung, devoted their energies to procuring the release of the prisoners and of securing peace. In furtherance of these wise endeavours Prince Kung went to Jehol, and though he found the Emperor hopelessly reactionary under the influence of his entourage, yet he succeeded in forming a useful alliance with the Empress Tzu-hsi, the mother of the heir to the throne. By virtue of this alliance peace was made and those of the prisoners, including Parkes and Loch, who had survived the ill-usage to which they had been subjected, were released. On October 24th, 1860, conventions were signed by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros on the one hand, and Prince Kung on the other. The terms of these documents confirmed the treaties of 1858, and added indemnities for the cost of the war. These documents were no sooner signed than, with all haste, the allied Plenipotentiaries hurried to the coast, being fearful lest they should be frozen in for the winter. It was an unfortunate climax to the campaign, and was susceptible of the version attributed to it by the mandarins, who gave out that the Allies had been defeated in battle and had taken to flight. To retire from a country at the moment of victory is so contrary to Oriental ideas that the Chinese on this occasion, as well as on others, naturally attributed Lord Elgin's hasty retreat to discomfiture.

**Peace Convention Signed**

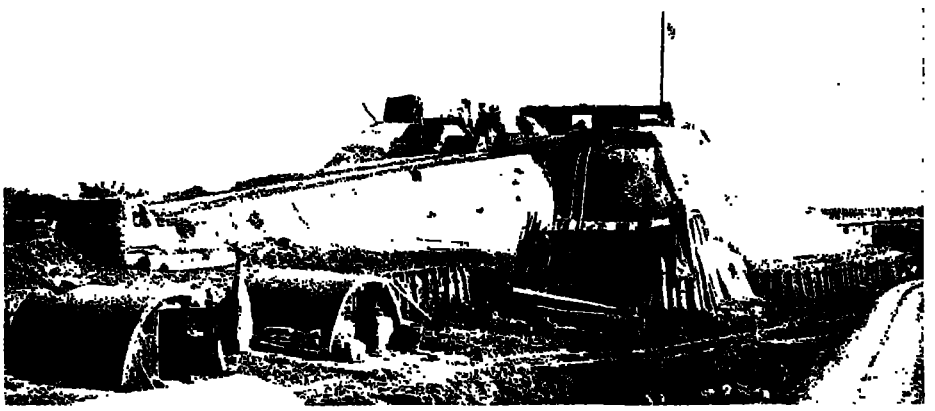
Prince Kung, however, was under no such delusion, and having made peace, he did all he could to establish a good feeling with his quondam enemies. He recognised that the return of the Emperor to Peking was much to be desired, and he used all his power of persuasion to induce him to revisit his capital. But in this he was unsuccessful. The Emperor was surrounded by men who were interested in preventing the unfortunate Hsien-feng from learning the true position of affairs. Matters were in this condition when, to the superstitious minds of the Chinese, an evil omen, in the shape of a comet, appeared in the sky. As if to justify the popular belief, it was announced that the Emperor was seriously ill, and almost immediately afterwards, that on August 22nd, 1861, the great Emperor had "become a guest on high." These announcements were made by the Regents, who had been appointed by the dying monarch, and who were subsequently deposed and executed by the authority of the Empress and of Princes Kung and Chun.

**Death of the Emperor**

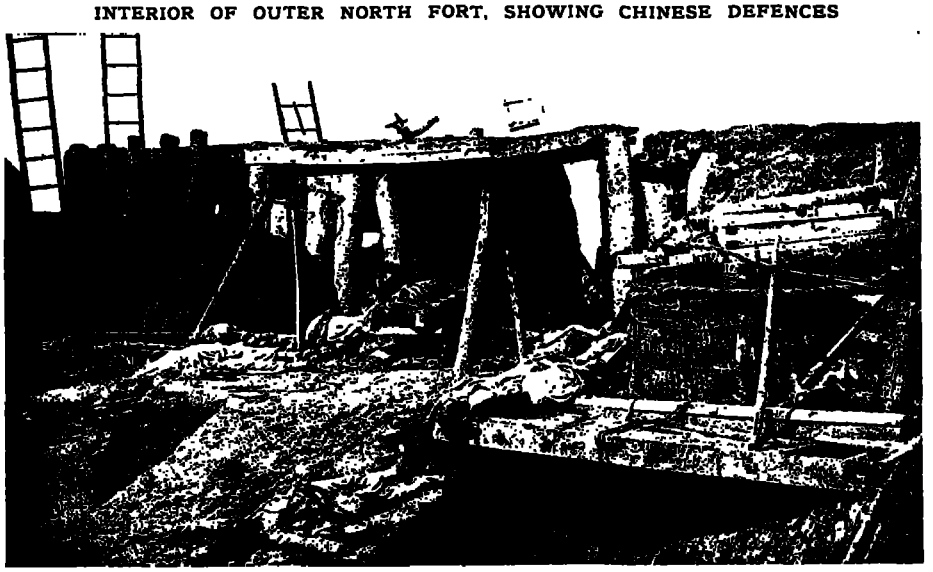
The signature of the treaty restored peace in the northern portion of the empire, and freed the flower of the Imperial troops for the suppression of the Taiping rebellion, which had for some years devastated the central and richest provinces of the empire. Nanking, the second city in the country, was in the hands of the rebels, as well as the important towns of Soochow, Hangchow, and a number of others, and naturally the first desire of the Emperor and Prince Kung was to recover them to the Imperial crown. With this laudable desire they thought to take advantage of the presence of foreign troops to learn something of the art of war which had made them so superior to their own armies. They eagerly accepted the loan of English drill-sergeants to




EXTERIOR OF THE INNER NORTH FORT, CAPTURED BY FRENCH AND BRITISH

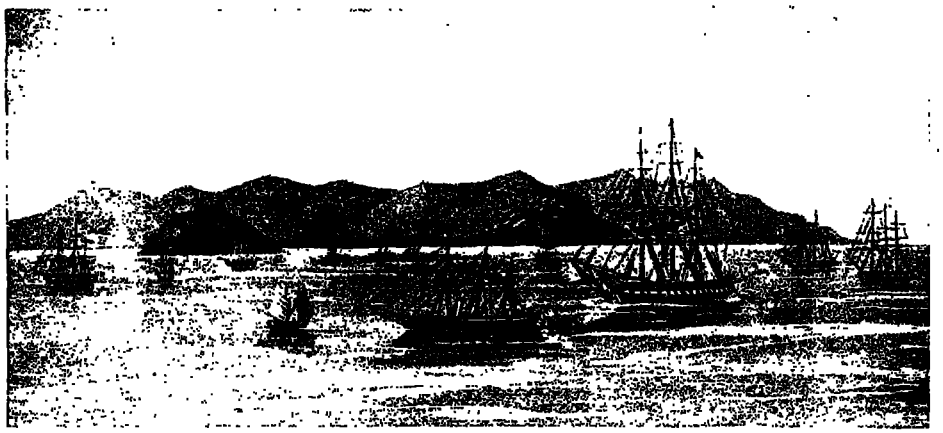


INTERIOR OF OUTER NORTH FORT, SHOWING CHINESE DEFENCES



INTERIOR OF INNER NORTH FORT, AFTER THE ASSAULT

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TAKU FORTS IN 1860



THE BRITISH FLEET LYING OFF KINTANG BEFORE THE OCCUPATION OF CHUSAN

instruct their men, and various drill-books were translated into Chinese for the benefit of their rank and file. This zeal for foreign inventions lasted as long as the Taiping rebellion endured; but when, after the suppression of that movement by Gordon's "Ever Victorious Army," under Li Hung-chang, peace was again restored (1864), the drill-sergeants were politely dismissed, the books were put away on their shelves, and military matters were allowed to drift back to their former condition.

But there was again, before long, a call to arms. Though the storm had subsided, the waters were still disturbed, and over considerable parts of Honan and Shantung disorders prevailed. The disbanded Taipings, finding their occupation gone, spread themselves over these provinces, carrying fire and sword into the towns and villages. Naturally, in this crisis, the Emperor called on Li Hung-chang once more to take up his sword in defence of the throne. After a chequered campaign, in which victory did not always by any means rest with the Imperial forces, Li was able to report to his Imperial master



LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS AT TALIEN-WAN ON JULY 5, 1860



WEIGHING OUT THE MONEY FOR THE CHINESE WAR INDEMNITY



WAR INDEMNITY TRANSPORTED AND GUARDED INTO TIENTSIN

CHINA "PAYING THE PRICE" UNDER THE CONVENTION OF PEKING IN 1860



PRINCE KUNG

**The negotiator of terms of peace with Lord Elgin, at the conclusion of the war which he had tried to avoid.**

that the Nienfei, as the rebels were called, were reduced to impotence.

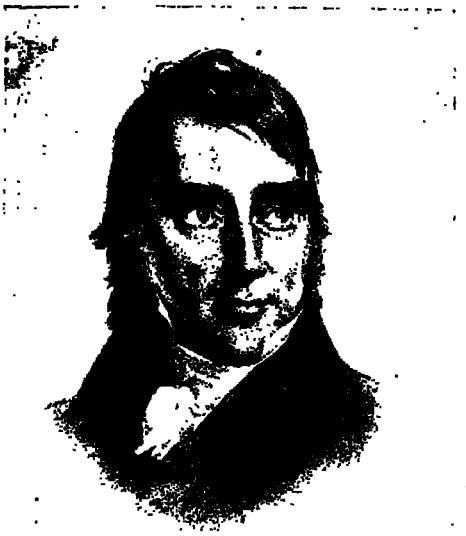
There were yet, however, enemies to peace within the borders of the state. In Yunnan, the south-westerly province of the empire, there had long existed a Mohammedan population, who, for the most part, had maintained friendly relations with their fellow provincials. But this friendliness was only skin-deep, and a trifling dispute about a copper mine was the match which set the whole countryside ablaze. The strong city of Tali Fu fell into the hands of the Mohammedans, who re-established themselves there under the command of a chieftain named Tu. This man was possessed by an ambition to induce the English Government to take up his cause. With this object he sent an embassy to London to invite the co-operation of the British Cabinet. Needless to say, this was refused, and indirectly the mission proved disastrous to the rebels, for the possible interference of a foreign Power so alarmed the Chinese Government that they brought all their forces to bear against the rebels. With irresistible numbers they made themselves masters of the province, and ruthlessly massacred their crushed enemies.

Peace was not yet restored to the distracted empire. The rebellion in Yunnan had been but the reflex action of a movement which was agitating Western China and Central Asia. Through these wide regions the followers of the Prophet had thought that they had seen in the disturbed condition of China an opportunity to throw over the yoke of Confucianism and Buddhism which had so long oppressed them. For a considerable time success attended their arms, and with the allied help of Yakoob Khan, the Atalik Ghazi, they gained many important victories. But the end came. General Tso Chung-tang was appointed commander-in-chief over a huge army, with orders to restore the rebel territories to the throne. With curious deliberation, Tso opened the campaign by turning his swords into ploughshares, and by sowing the crops which were to supply them with food for the following year. Whether or not another system would have been more expeditious, cannot be said; but certain it is that it answered in this case. With steady perseverance Tso led his troops to victory, and in 1878 was able to report



PRINCE SANKOLINSEN

**This Chinese general commanded the army that seized the British envoys, hoping thus to gain an advantage.**



BARON GROS

The French representative who signed the convention with China after the march of French and British to Peking.



SIR HOPE GRANT

The commander of the British force which, acting with the French, captured the Taku forts before the march on Peking

to the throne that the Son of Heaven was once more in possession of his own.

Meanwhile, his foreign treaties were exercising a beneficent influence on the relations with China with the "outside" nations. The Chinese Government, guided by Prince Kung, learned to see that even the boasted civilisation of China was inferior to that existing in other lands, and they attempted to introduce reforms into the administration of the empire. They withdrew the management of foreign affairs from the Lifan Yamen, or Colonial Office, and established the Tsung-li-Yamen, which was to occupy the position of the Foreign Office. This was an acknowledgment of the increasing importance of foreign affairs, and though the new office served its purpose with indifferent results, it was a step in the right direction.

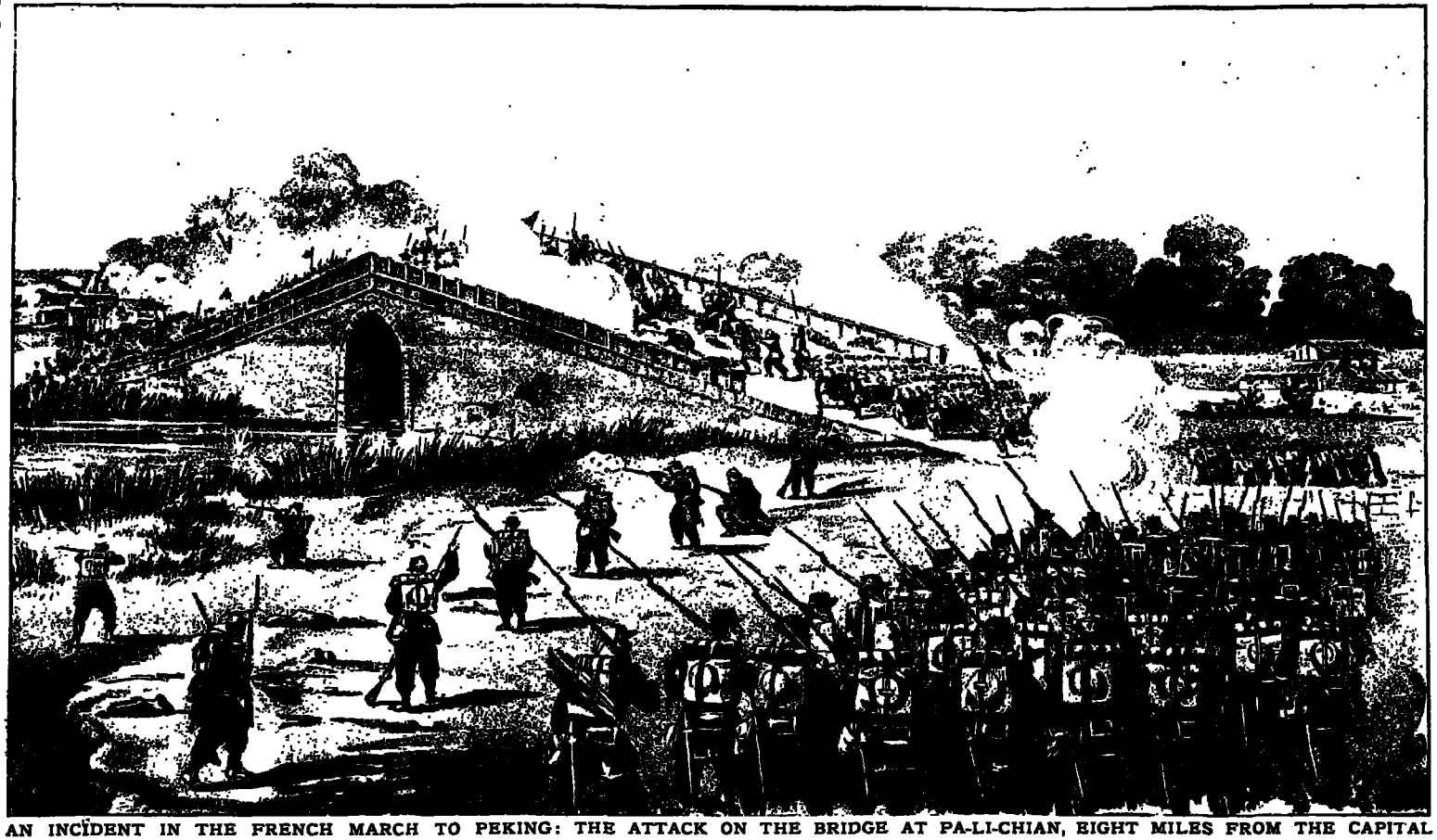


LORD LOCH

One of the British envoys, who, when private secretary to Lord Elgin, was taken prisoner by the Chinese army.

In military matters they showed a half-hearted desire to improve their material, and established arsenals at Foohow, Nanking, and Shanghai. With the continuation of peace, however, their zeal flagged and eventually dwindled away.

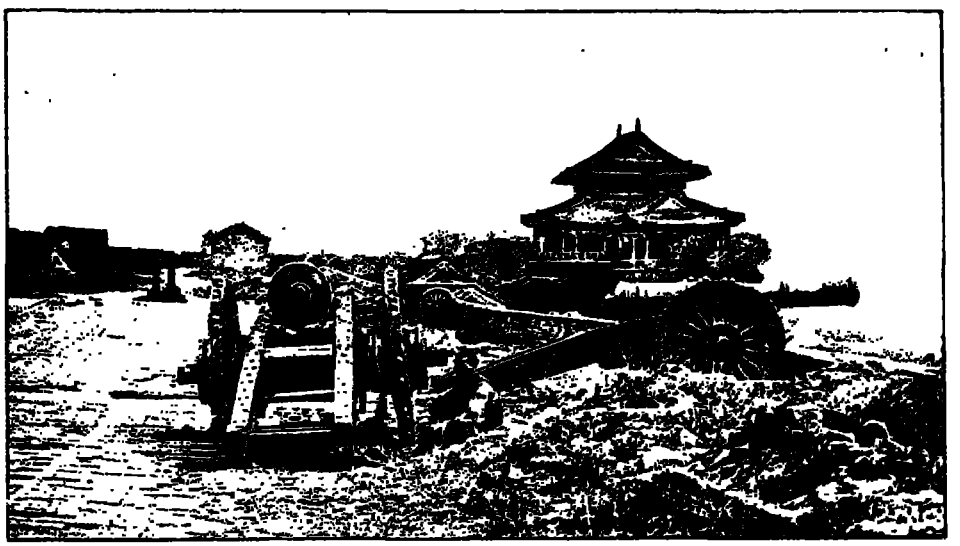
In another direction they attempted to impress their views of the political position on the foreign Governments, and induced Mr. Burlingham, the United States Minister at Peking, to throw up his office and to undertake an advocatory mission to Washington and the capitals of Europe. His refrain was the desire of China for reform and the advisability of leaving her alone to work out her own salvation. This gospel did not get more than an acknowledgment from the Powers, and the mission was brought to an abrupt termination by the death of Mr. Burlingham at



AN INCIDENT IN THE FRENCH MARCH TO PEKING: THE ATTACK ON THE BRIDGE AT PA-LI-CHIAN, EIGHT MILES FROM THE CAPITAL

St. Petersburg. But even before this event occurred the value of the professions of the Peking authorities was seriously discounted. While Mr. Burlingham was proclaiming the tolerant principles of his clients, they were falsifying his words by deeds of ill-faith and cruelty. The missionary question had long been a bone of contention between China and the treaty Powers, and though by the terms of the treaties a free hand within limits was to be given to the missionaries, the native authorities never ceased to resent their presence. At Yangchou, on the Yangtse, a missionary station had been established on the faith of the promises given by the Chinese, and without the slightest provocation an attack instigated by the authorities was made on the unsuspecting missionaries, who were driven from the city with violence and whose dwellings were burnt to the ground. At this time Tseng Kwofan, the father of the Marquis Tseng, who lately represented China at the Court of St. James's, was viceroy of the province in which this outrage occurred. He had acquired favour by the suppression of the Taiping rebellion, and had preserved his anti-foreign tendencies in spite of the gratitude due for the help rendered by Gordon in that great crisis. At first he was disinclined to offer any reparation for the brutal onslaught, but the appearance of a British fleet opposite the walls of his capital city produced a more reasonable frame of mind, and eventually the demands of the British Consul were complied with.

Shortly after this event Tseng's hostility to foreigners was again manifested in connection with another and fiercer missionary outbreak. This time the scene of the tragedy was Tientsin, in the metropolitan province of which Tseng had, in the interval, been appointed viceroy. For some time (1870) sinister rumours had been current about the orphanages of the Sisters of Mercy. It was said that the infantile inmates were murdered for the purpose of concocting medicine from their eyes, and a fatal epidemic which broke out at that juncture gave a certain acceptance to the report. To this ground for a riot was added the indiscretion of the French Consul, who used his revolver among the crowd in the street. This infuriated the mob, who broke into the orphanage, murdered the sisters, and set fire to the buildings. In all, twenty foreigners were massacred, besides a number of native Christians. Tseng was ordered to inquire into the circumstances of the riot, but as he showed plainly that his sympathies were on the side of the murderers, he was relieved of his post and Li Hung-chang was appointed in his place. The arrival of this wise administrator soon put another complexion on the affair, and due reparation was made for the outrage, including



A DEFENCE UPON THE WALLS OF PEKING

The guns as trained upon the advancing allies in 1860—from a photograph taken immediately after the entry.



GENERAL TSO CHUNG-TANG

**This general quelled the Mohammedan rising in 1878, preceding his campaign by sowing crops to supply his troops.**

the execution of eighteen of the malefactors, and the despatch of a mission of apology to France.

This outbreak, together with several which had lately disturbed the foreign relations of the country, induced Prince Kung and his colleagues to raise the general question of the status of missionaries. It was plain that their presence was a cause of offence, and the Government were quite entitled to seek for a remedy for the evil; but instead of legislating in a liberal and conciliatory spirit they attempted to introduce measures which practically would have set the question at rest by annihilating it. Their proposals were embodied in a circular letter addressed to the foreign representatives, who, one and all, refused to entertain the proposals for an instant.

Another event of a politico-domestic character helped for the time being to overshadow all subjects of controversy. The whirligig of time had brought it about that the Emperor had come of age in an imperial sense (1872). That is to say that he had reached the age of sixteen, when it became him to assume Empire and to take to himself a bride. By the laws of the land it was necessary that the lady should be a Manchu and a daughter of a member of one of the eight military banners. As in China the bridegroom has no personal choice in the selection of his bride, it was necessary that the Dowager Empress should choose a young lady who would fulfil the requirements of the case and satisfy the taste of the Emperor. After much searchings of heart, her choice fell on Ahluta, who was the daughter of a distinguished scholar, and is said to have combined beauty with intellect. With all due ceremony the Astronomical Board fixed on the moment which the stars in their courses marked out as being the most propitious for the ceremony; and in obedience to this reckoning the midnight of October 16th, 1872, was chosen. At that instant Ahluta crossed the threshold of the Imperial Palace, and entered on her new duties.

This event did not occupy the Emperor's whole attention, and he found time to propose an improvement in the relations of the foreign representatives with his Court. Up to this time the resident representatives had never enjoyed the privilege invariably accorded by civilised states of being received in audience by



LI HUNG-CHANG

**The powerful Chinese Envoy, and friend of Russia, who took such a prominent part in the foreign affairs of his country.**



**COMMANDING THE STORMING OF SOOCHOW IN NOVEMBER, 1863**
Gordon determined on a vigorous assault on the north-east angle of the Soochow wall.



**GORDON'S "MAGIC WAND OF VICTORY"**
General Gordon carried only one weapon—a cane, which came to be known by this name. He frequently led his less daring officers by the arm into the thick of the fight, exhorting them by courage and example.



Y-YUNG, MARQUIS TSENG

**Formerly representative of China accredited to London and the son of Tseng Kwofan, a famous anti-foreign viceroy.**

the sovereign; and the excuse given was that the Emperor, being a minor, was not qualified to receive them. But now that he had declared himself to be of age the excuse was no longer valid, and no surprise was felt, therefore, when a notice reached the Legations that, the foreign representatives "having implored" the Emperor to grant them an audience, he was graciously pleased to accede to their request. A day was ultimately fixed for the ceremony, which took place on June 29th, 1873, in the Pavilion of Purple Light. The selection of this pavilion was a serious blot on the ceremonial since it was the hall in which the representatives of the Mongol tribes are commonly granted audiences. But in spite of this drawback it was a step in advance and has since been improved upon.

Unfortunately Tungchih's lease of power was of short duration. Towards the end of 1874 it was rumoured that he was suffering from an attack of smallpox. At first the reports were favourable, and the doctors in attendance were promoted as a reward for their skill. Later accounts, however, were less propitious, and on January 15th, 1875, it was announced that the Emperor had "become a guest on high."

The succession to an Oriental throne is always a matter of uncertainty, and in the case of Tungchih's successor there were manifold difficulties. An heir to the throne should be the next in direct line, and, as Tungchih had been as yet childless, the eldest son of the eldest uncle should have been the future sovereign. But the Dowager Empresses, having once tasted the sweets of power, wished to recover the regency. The infant son, therefore, of a young uncle was selected by these astute ladies, and eventually, at their instigation, Prince Tsai Tien, son of Prince Chun, was proclaimed Emperor.

In the midst of these intrigues the Empress Ahluta was in danger of being overlooked, and she was the one of all others who should have been considered. It was well-known that she was with child, and in case the child should prove to be a son, he would naturally succeed to the throne, under the guidance of his mother as regent. This was a contingency which was utterly repugnant to the Dowager Empresses, and it was a matter of no surprise when an announcement was made that Ahluta's grief at the death of the Emperor, her husband, was so great as to have produced a serious illness, an ominous proclamation which prepared the people's mind for the news of her death. This event cleared the ground for the Dowagers, who at once resumed power and held it until the Emperor, coming of age, claimed it from their hands and assumed control. By their own seeking, therefore, they had succeeded to no bed of roses.



CHUNG HOU

**The first real Chinese Ambassador to Europe, who was resident Minister at Paris during the years 1871 and 1872.**



MARKET SCENE IN TARTAR CITY



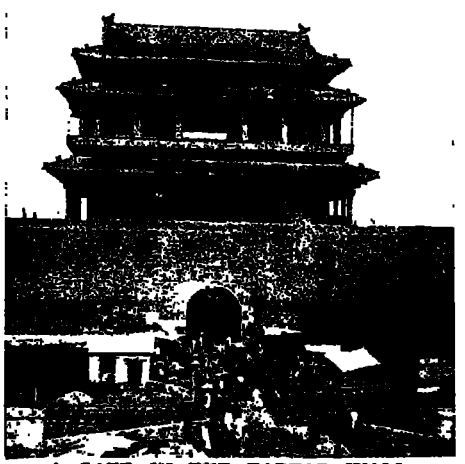
ENTRANCE TO HALL OF CLASSICS



GRAND CANAL AT CHI HWA GATE



THE DRUM TOWER



A GATE IN THE TARTAR WALL



CHIEN HEN, THE PRINCIPAL GATE

PRESENT DAY SCENES IN PEKING

H. C. White Co., London.

Already for some time the attitude of the English Government had been directed to the advisability of finding, if possible, a practicable trade route between Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan. Independent travellers, who had risked their lives in traversing the mountain ranges which separate the two points of distance, drew gloomy pictures of the difficulties of the route. But the Government of India was hopeful of finding an easier road, and despatched a mission to make the attempt. Colonel Browne was chosen chief of the expedition, and every possible preparation was made for its successful passage through Burmese and Chinese territories. Passports were provided by the Peking authorities, and, lest there should be any difficulty in communicating with the Chinese authorities and people, Mr. Margary, of the Chinese Consular Service, was sent to meet Colonel Browne's party at Bhamo, in Burma. On his way thither he met with every courtesy from both mandarins and the people. After a short rest at Bhamo, the expedition started eastward. It had not gone far when its members were met by rumours of opposition and of threatened violence.

This attitude was so foreign to that which had been shown to Margary on his way over the same ground, that Mr. Margary refused to believe the reports, and offered to go ahead of the expedition to test their reliability. As far as the town of Manwyne, just within the Chinese frontier, he enjoyed perfect safety. On the day after his arrival there, however, he was brutally murdered, under what circumstances will never be known with certainty. But that it was a premeditated outrage is proved by the fact that at the



One of the famous "Tiger Guard"



Soldier of the Archery Corps



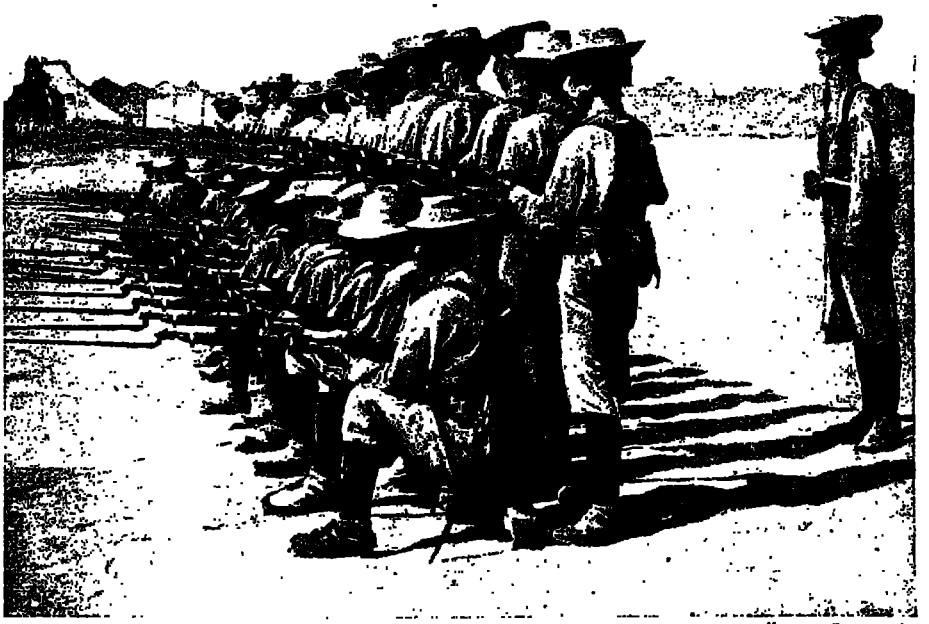
Officer of the Tartar Corps

TYPES OF CHINESE SOLDIERS OF THE PAST



Edwards

**A GROUP OF CHINESE SOLDIERS WITH THEIR TIME-HONOURED WEAPONS**
Part of the Chinese Army carries such weapons now.



Keystone Stereograph

**A CHINESE SQUADRON WITH MODERN ARMS AND DRILLED BY EUROPEAN OFFICERS**

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN CHINESE ARMY.

same time a Chinese force attacked Colonel Browne's party. So determined was the opposition that Colonel Browne, in face of the overwhelming forces in front of him, thought it prudent to retreat into Burmese territory. This he did, and so brought to an end this ill-omened attempt to connect the two empires. This incident was scarcely closed when a great natural misfortune overtook the empire. From September, 1875, to July, 1876, not a drop of rain fell in the provinces of Shantung and Shansi. The geological formation of these and the neighbouring districts render them singularly dependent on the fall of temperate rain. The wretched people, deprived of their fertilising supply and with quite insufficient means of importing foods, perished in their thousands. Subscription lists were opened at the treaty ports, and a sum of 36,000 taels was sent to the relief of the sufferers. A more than usually severe winter followed on this most unpropitious season, and it was reckoned that nine million persons perished from the effects of the two disasters. One result of this combination of evils was that the difficulty of carrying food to the suffering people brought home to the intelligent amongst the officials the advantage of introducing railways into the country. But the time had not arrived when such an innovation was practicable, and a short line made between Shanghai and Wusung by some enthusiasts among the foreign community of Shanghai was incontinently put an end to, and this in the face of much popular pleasure among the natives at the speed and convenience of the "fire-wheeled chariots."

**Drought and Famine**

By the irony of Fate, the man who had been mainly instrumental in opposing this railway was the first Chinese official who finally succeeded in constructing a permanent line in the country. It was at Li Hung-chang's instigation that the Wusung line was destroyed, and it was he who built the line from Tientsin to the Kaiping coal-mines, which still carries the coal, in which Li was interested, to Tientsin and Taku. Since then lines have increased and multiplied; Peking is now in railway communication with Taku on the sea-coast and Hankow in the central provinces, while throughout the empire there is everywhere a network of lines.



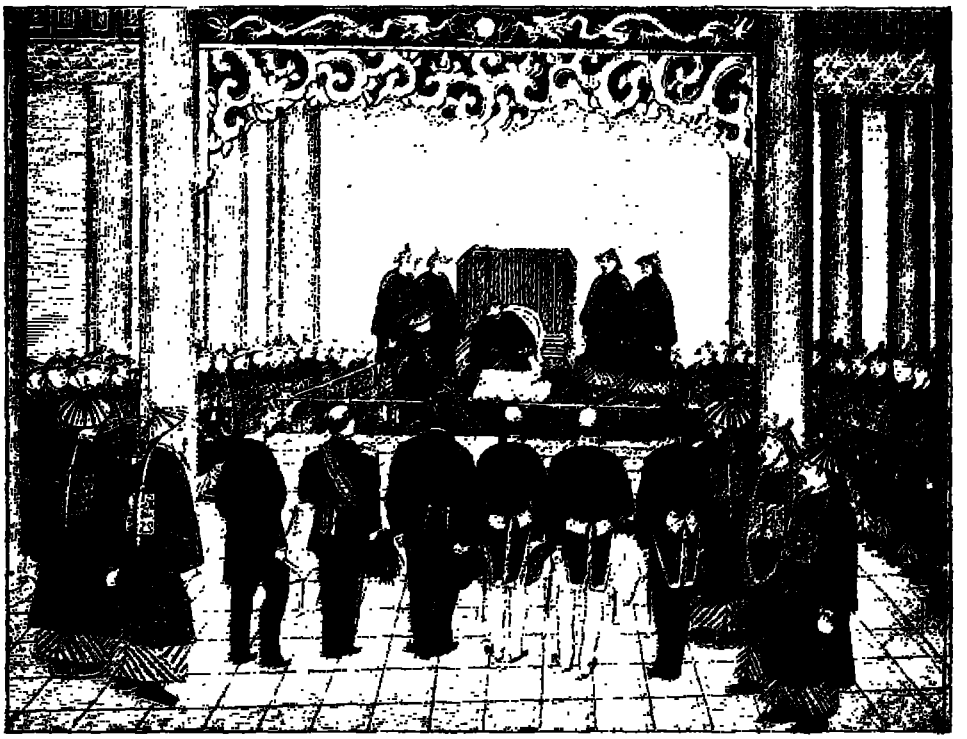
LATE DOWAGER EMPRESS OF CHINA

The Empress Dowager—Tzu-Hsi—the maternal aunt of the late Emperor, was a remarkable woman. She held the power by sheer force of her personality.

While these events were agitating the home provinces of the empire, attention was drawn to complications which had arisen in regions beyond the southern frontier of the empire. For many years France had been seeking her own in Tonquin, and had gone the length of concluding treaties with the King of Annam without having any regard for the rights of the King's suzerain, the Emperor of China. On hearing of these alliances, the Peking Government protested, and warned the French that their persistence in treating with the King of Annam would be regarded as a *casus belli*. Such threats were, however, unavailing in face of the fact that the French were determined to enlarge their borders in South-eastern Asia.

**War between China and France**

With this object in view, a survey was undertaken of the Mekong; and Dupuis was sent to inspect the waters of the Red River and the Yang-tse Kiang. As has so often happened in Eastern complications, the two combatants drifted into an irregular war. In the first engagement Fortune declared herself on the side of



THE YOUNG EMPEROR TUNG-CHIH GRANTING AN AUDIENCE

On June 29, 1873, the representatives of foreign Powers in Peking were received in audience by the Emperor in the Pavilion of Purple Light in the Palace of Peking. The most solemn ceremonial was observed in order to impress Tung-Chih

China, but in most of the subsequent battles she transferred her favour to the French, and, after much exercise of diplomatic wiles and serious engagements, peace was eventually proclaimed (April, 1885). The terms of the treaty sufficiently indicated the results of the campaign. China handed over the suzerainty of Annam to France and ceded Tonquin to that Power.

No sooner was peace restored in Tonquin than occasions of quarrel arose on the north-east frontiers.

**Troubles Begin in Korea**

Korea has repeatedly been the cockpit of the Far East. The coast lines of Japan and Korea are so near that it has ever been obvious to the Japanese that their safety as an island kingdom depends on the maintenance of the independence of Korea, and thus an intense jealousy has always been felt at Tōkio at the first sign of any interference in Korean affairs by China or any other Power. It happened that Korea had had the misfortune to be ruled by an ignorant and bigoted regent during the long minority of the King. The father of the sovereign, known as Taiwen Kiun, was the holder of this office and during the whole of his rule he had shown a strong anti-foreign bias: so much so that the Chinese, seeing that peace could be secured only by his removal, kidnapped him and carried him off to Paoting-fu. Unfortunately they released him before he was penitent, and his return to Korea was signalised by disturbance and a fierce attack on the Japanese Legation. Fortunately, the diplomatists escaped to an English ship of war, which carried them and the news of the outrage to Tōkio. The Japanese at once despatched an army to enforce terms of reparation. As a protest against this invasion the Chinese also sent a force into Korea, and thus the two alien armies were brought face to face. The position was eminently one for negotiation, and Li Hung-chang and Count Ito drew up a treaty, by the terms of which the two Powers agreed to withdraw their forces from Korea, and for the future not to send troops into the

**Japanese Invade Korea**



THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR: CHINESE TROOPS TRYING TO SAVE THEIR ARTILLERY

disputed kingdom without giving warning of their intention.

The Franco-Chinese war and the general course of events had naturally forced on the Chinese the consciousness of their shortcomings in the face of other nations. The legations abroad had urged on the Government the necessity of having a strong army and navy as well as railways and telegraphs. In these several directions reforms were introduced. The services of foreigners were engaged to drill the armies and to command the fleets, telegraphs were constructed, and, under the influence of Li Hung-chang, a short railway from Tientsin to the Kaiping coal-mines was opened. But the trend of events was not always in the direction of progress. In the provinces of Kwang-si and Szechuen anti-foreign riots broke out, and missionaries and their churches were attacked and outraged.

In the year 1887 the Emperor reached man's estate—that is to say, he had arrived at the age of sixteen—and by the law which changes not it was thereupon decreed that he should take to himself an Empress. After much cogitation a niece of the Dowager Empress, Yeh-ho-na-la by name, was chosen as his bride, and on February 26th, the august rite was performed with all due state and ceremony. In the following month the Dowager Empress, following the inevitable precedent, handed over the seals of office and retired to the Iho Park, near Peking. One of the first acts of the now emancipated Emperor was to receive the foreign Ministers in audience. In some ways this ceremony was an advance on that granted by Tungchih, but in other respects the arrangements were the same. The Ministers, instead of being received *en bloc*, as in 1873, were each granted a separate audience; but the full effect of the innovation was vitiated by the place of audience again being the Tsze-kwang Pavilion, where the Emperor had been accustomed to entertain the representatives of vassal states. The resentment shown at this treatment had its effect; and when, some time later, the newly arrived Austrian Minister asked for an audience he was received in the Cheng-kwang Hall within the Palace.

In 1894 a further recognition of the rights of the foreign representatives was evidenced by the fact that the foreign Ministers were received in audience in the Wen-hwa Hall of the Palace. This was but an indication of the general tendency of affairs. A progressive spirit seemed to have taken hold of the country. The introduction of railroads was encouraged and newspapers were introduced into a land where, until then, the "Peking Gazette" had been the solitary representative of the native Press.

Nor were the Army and Navy altogether neglected. The adoption of foreign and new weapons was sanctioned and a naval college was established at Tientsin. But while the Government was showing marked signs of a progressive spirit, an opposite disposition was evinced in parts of the empire. Anti-foreign riots broke out in various provinces, and in 1890 alarming outbreaks occurred on the Yang-tse Kiang, in the course of which two Englishmen were brutally murdered at Wuhsueh. It was proved that the prime instigator of the riots was an official named Chou Han, but though his complicity was plainly demonstrated he suffered no further



**TSAI-TIEN HWANG HSU**

**Ninth Emperor of the Manchu dynasty. Nephew of the Dowager Empress, Tzu-Hsi, by whose authority he was proclaimed Emperor at the age of four in 1875.**

inconvenience than the nominal penalty of living under police surveillance. A more gratifying event which occurred about the same time was the opening to foreign trade of the port of Chung-king, on the Upper Yangtse. But neither inside nor outside the empire did matters run smoothly, and a rebellion in Korea induced a war between China and Japan which has had far-reaching consequences. Being unable to cope with the rebellion, the King of Korea begged for help from China, which was readily accorded, and the despatch of troops from Peking led to the arrival of a Japanese army in the neighbourhood of Seoul.

**War Between China and Japan**

Thus, the two armies were once again face to face. The position was dangerous, and friction was created by a desire on the part of Japan to introduce reforms into the administration. As China refused to have lot or part in these proposals the Japanese undertook to enforce them themselves and presented an ultimatum to the King on the subject. The Koreans being still recalcitrant, the Japanese surrounded the palace and took possession of the King's person.



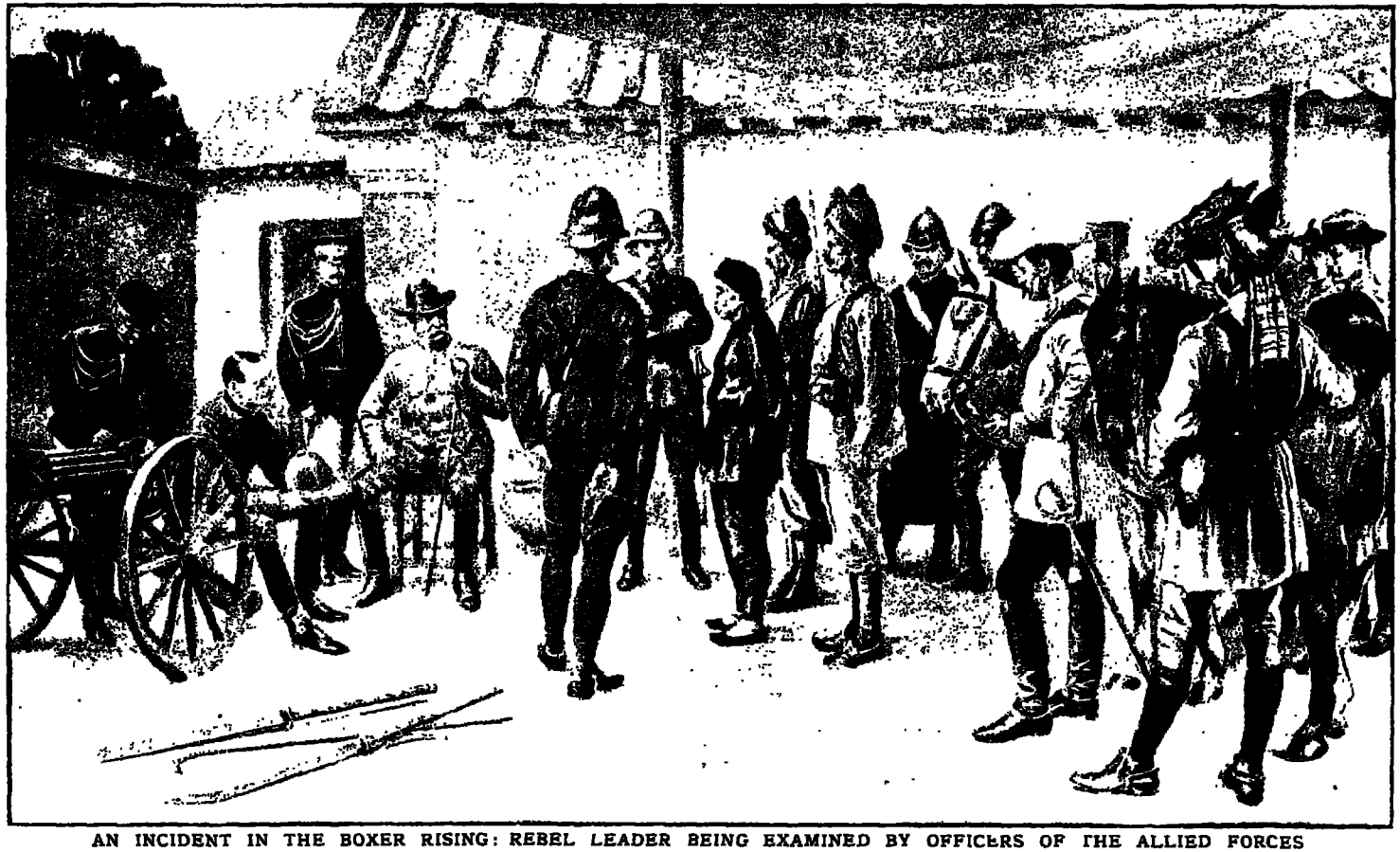
KANG YU-WEI
A reformer who in 1899 persuaded the Emperor to issue decrees that roused national opposition.

The position now became acute, and the two foreign Powers prepared for war, which broke out prematurely on July 25th. On that day two Japanese men-of-war sighted a Chinese fleet en route for the Korean coast. After a short engagement, the Chinese were defeated and put to flight, with the loss of four ships. Following up their victory, the Japanese landed on the Korean coast, and in quick succession made themselves masters of the towns of Asan and Ping-yang. The loss of these strongholds led to the withdrawal of the Chinese troops northwards from Korea. Without loss of time the Japanese followed the flying enemy, crossed the Yalu river, and virtually cleared the country of the Chinese forces. Having thus set themselves free for other enterprises they turned their attention to Port Arthur, which, after a short siege, fell into their hands (November 21st, 1894). Wei-hai-wei was the only remaining strong place left to the Chinese, and it quickly fell before Japanese prowess.

It was now obvious, even to the Chinese Government, that in their interests the time had arrived for the conclusion of peace. After several abortive efforts, Li Hung-chang was empowered to proceed to Shimonoseki, in Japan, to arrange terms. As both parties were desirous of peace, matters went smoothly, and might have gone without a hitch had it not been that a misguided native fired a revolver at Li as he was passing to a meeting of the Commissioners. Happily, the wound inflicted was not serious, and after a few days Li was able to take part in the conclusion of a treaty, which was signed, sealed, and delivered on April 17th, 1895. By the terms of this document China ceded to Japan the Liaotung peninsula, including Port Arthur, the island of Formosa, and the Pescadores group of islands. She also agreed to pay Japan an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels, and to open certain cities to Japanese trade. But, by a secret understanding, it had been agreed between the Peking representatives of Russia, France and Germany that they would use their good offices to restore the Liaotung peninsula to China, and they succeeded in inducing Japan to yield the peninsula in exchange for a further indemnity of 30,000,000 taels.

The peace had not long been concluded when a cause of offence broke out between China and Germany. On November 1st, 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. On the news of the outrage reaching the ears of the German Admiral he steamed into the port of Kiaochow in the incriminated province and occupied the island of Tsing-tao within its waters. The usual explanation was demanded at Peking, and a half of the island of Tsing-tao, with a considerable section of the surrounding country, was granted on a long lease to Germany. The success of this negotiation encouraged Russia to propose that similar rights over Port Arthur should be granted to her. This was conceded by the Chinese Government, who also voluntarily offered to give the British Government a lease of Wei-hai-wei (July 1, 1898).

**German Concessions in China**



AN INCIDENT IN THE BOXER RISING: REBEL LEADER BEING EXAMINED BY OFFICERS OF THE ALLIED FORCES

These cessions of territory, coupled with the disastrous war with Japan, had induced a section of the more enlightened of the mandarins, headed by the Emperor himself, to desire such reforms in the administration of the Government as would place China on an equality with the foreign Powers. As was to be expected, the reformers fell into many and great mistakes, and ranged against themselves a powerful body of public opinion. At the instigation of secret advisers, notable among whom was Kang Yu-wei, an enlightened man but an enthusiast, the Emperor issued a series of edicts which revolutionised and outraged many of the most cherished convictions of the people.

At last matters came to such a pitch that the Dowager Empress was besought to intervene to preserve the country from anarchy. Nothing loth, that redoubtable lady, who had been watching every move on the board, virtually deposed the Emperor and seized the reins of power. In quick succession edicts appeared abrogating the reforms ordered by the Emperor, and death warrants were issued against the native advisers who had been the instigators of the Emperor's policy. With this reversal of the order of things a strong anti-foreign spirit spread over the northern part of the empire, beginning in the province of Kiangsu and rapidly stretching over the adjacent provinces of Anhui, Shantung and Chihli. In support of the movement, there appeared an organised force known to foreigners as the Boxers, and in the country as Ihochüan, or "Patriotic Harmonious Fists." These men devoted their attention, in the first instance, to the missionaries and their converts; but with the official support which they speedily acquired they flew at higher game, and assumed the rôle of a patriot army whose motto was "China for the Chinese." The object of this band so well harmonised with the prevailing sentiments at Peking that it received the ungrudging support of the Dowager Empress, who, in her ignorance, believed its votaries to be impervious to bullets.

**Beginning of Boxer Rebellion**



DEFENCE OF BRITISH LEGATION AT PEKING

The scene is a balcony in the British Minister's house overlooking the Imperial Canal and Prince Su's palace. The British Marines' Nordenfeldt is in action against the Boxers.

In April, 1900, the position of Peking had under these rapidly developed circumstances become so dangerous to foreigners that it was deemed advisable to despatch a relieving force from Tientsin, and on June 10th, Admiral Seymour, at the head of a small detachment of 1,800 marines and bluejackets, marched out towards the capital. But he had miscalculated the forces with which he had to contend, and before reaching Peking he was obliged to retreat before the Imperial troops and Boxers who stood in his way. Large reinforcements were subsequently sent from Taku, and succeeded in capturing the city of Tientsin and relieving the Legations, which had been besieged by overwhelming forces from the middle of June to August 14th.

On the arrival of the relieving force at Peking, the Dowager Empress, with the Emperor, took to flight westward, and scarcely drew rein until they reached Hsianfu, the capital of the province of Shensi. There they stayed while negotiations for peace were being conducted by Prince Ching and Li Hung-chang. As a preliminary it was determined that punishments



Elliott & Fry

SIR CLAUDE MACDONALD
Minister who commanded legation quarter during siege.



Elliott & Fry

ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR
Who defeated the Boxers at Lang-Fang, June 11, 1900.

should be inflicted on certain officials who had taken prominent parts in the attacks on and the murder of Europeans. For such crimes Princes Tuan and Fukuo were sentenced to death, which sentence, on account of their Imperial rank, was commuted to penal servitude for life. Prince Chuang and the Presidents of the Board of Censors and Board of Punishments were condemned to commit suicide. while three other high officials were beheaded.

Justice having thus been done, the Peace Commissioners proceeded to draw up a protocol, which was signed on September 7th, 1901. The indemnity to be paid was fixed at 450,000,000 taels, on which 4 per cent. was to be charged until the capital was paid off at the end of 39 years.

The conclusion of peace brought the Emperor and Dowager Empress back to Peking, and with a return to a settled form of government arose a further desire for the material advantages of civilisation. This tendency was still further emphasised by the result of the Russo-Japanese war. The question naturally suggested itself to the Chinese: "If the Japanese were able to conquer Russia, why should we not be able to do the same?" This mental attitude led to an inquiry as to the means by which Japan had acquired her present position, and troops of students betook themselves to the Land of the Rising Sun, while commissioners were sent to America and Europe to inquire into the systems of government in force there.

In order to enable the Chinese Government to introduce these and other reforms, Sir Robert Hart brought forward a proposal (1904) for the better collection and amendment of the Land Tax, by the adoption of which he estimated that a revenue of 400,000,000 taels would be raised. This scheme would provide the means for an improved army and navy, and for colleges and schools throughout the empire; but the plan, though plausible, was dismissed as impracticable in the present condition of the country. The Government took pains at the moment to express their appreciation of Sir Robert Hart's proposals, and to assure the Empire of their desire to follow his advice. But two years later (May, 1906) they showed the true tendency of their policy by appointing the Ministers Tieh-liang and Tang-shao-yi "to take over charge of the entire customs service, with plenary powers to reform or modify ad libitum," thus superseding Sir Robert Hart. This met with strong and united opposition from the foreign legations, and the Government attempted to explain away the obvious meaning of their own words.

With that vacillation which has always marked the Imperial conduct of affairs, an edict was issued a few months later (September 20th, 1906) in which a genuine and beneficent reform was foreshadowed. By its terms opium smoking was abolished throughout the eighteen provinces. This measure is discussed later; and whether it succeeds or fails, it stands as an attempt to improve the condition of the people.

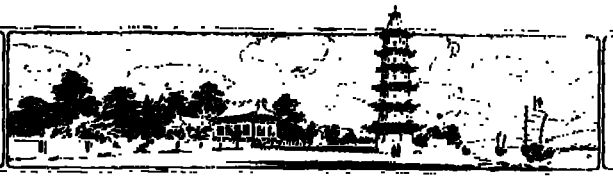
ROBERT K. DOUGLAS



1807: DR. MORRISON, THE PIONEER BRITISH MISSIONARY, TRANSLATING THE GOSPEL



1907: ARCHDEACON WOLFE AND A GROUP OF CHINESE CLERGYMEN IN FU-KIEN





# CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

CHRISTIANITY has never taken hold of the Chinese; it has always borne an alien character. An inscription on the monument discovered in 1625 at Singan Fu, the authenticity of which was erroneously doubted in the seventeenth century, states that the first Christian missionary arrived in China in 635. Upon the monument he is known as "Olopen," which is perhaps merely a corruption of the Chinese expression for monk, and the religion, of which a somewhat vague summary is given, is called the noble law of Ta-tsin (Syria). Olopen was of the Nestorian branch of the Christian Church, a sect condemned as heretical by the orthodox body, but predominant in Asia. It is probable that the Nestorians came to China as early as 505 A.D., and that the silkworms' eggs brought by them to Constantinople in 551 A.D., if not of Khotan origin, came from China.

The books brought by Olopen were translated with the Emperor's leave, and official sanction was given to the dissemination of his teaching. The Tang Emperor Tai Tsung is said in 638 to have given his express permission to the preaching of the new doctrine, and to have allowed the building of a church on condition that his picture was placed therein. Kao Tsung (650–683) also favoured the doctrine. At a later period, however, difficulties rose; but Hsuan Tsung (712–756) again showed favour to the doctrine, and a new missionary, Kiho, is said to have entered the country. Finally the monument records its own erection in 781, under Te Tsung (780–805). The inscription is in the Chinese language, and partly in poetical form; it contains quotations in the Syrian language, from which it appears that a large number of Nestorian priests (one reference contains sixty-seven names) were then working in China. They are said to have been organised under several episcopal vicars, the first of whom is entitled the Pope of Zinistan, or China.

**Early Records of Chinese Christianity**

According to later accounts, closer relations existed between the Nestorians and the Mother Church in Syria until broken off by the advance of Mohammedanism. In 845 the Christian priests, who are said to have numbered three thousand, came under the edict of Wu-tsung, which ordered them, like those of Buddha, to return to their temporal occupations. Nevertheless the Nestorians maintained their footing in China and Central Asia. They possessed a large number of parishes and churches throughout the empire, and were not without influence at the court of the Mongol princes and emperor, making many converts among the women and among some of the higher officials. They fell with the Mongol dynasty, without leaving any living trace of their existence. It was, perhaps, partly due to the belief in the existence, somewhere in the far East, of a Nestorian country under the rule of Prester John that Innocent IV., in 1245, sent envoys to the Mongol Khan in the hope of "averting the onslaughts on Christendom through fear of divine wrath."

**Nestorian Strength and Influence**

### Roman Catholicism

At the time of the Mongol dynasty the first Roman Catholic priests arrived in China, appearing in the character of ambassadors with a diplomatic message from the Pope and temporal princes. The success of the Mongols in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, together with the growing power of Mohammedanism in Syria and Egypt, had seriously occupied the attention of the Popes who preached, and the princes who took part in, the several crusades, and it was thought that an alliance might be made with the Mongols against the Mohammedans, the common enemy of both parties.

The attempts to bring about a political and military alliance of this nature led to no result, but the reports of the Papal messengers, and the emissaries of the other princes who went to Mongolia

and China by land, offer many points of high interest. Before the meeting of the Council of Lyons (1245), Pope Innocent IV. sent to the East an embassy of Dominicans under Nicolas Anselm (Anselm of Lombardy). In August, 1247, they met the army of the general Bachu-noyan in Khwaresm, and he sent them back with two Tartar Mongolian envoys with a message to the Pope (1248). The message was conceived in a discourteous style, and the Pope was ordered to give in his submission; but the general treated the ambassadors with the greatest kindness, in the hope of continuing further relations.

**Papal Emissaries to China**

Simultaneously with the first mission, Innocent also despatched two Franciscans, Lorenzo of Portugal, who was appointed Papal Legate in the East, and John of Pian de Carpine, who started on the journey from Breslau, in company with Benedict of Poland. These latter were the first to reach Batu, who sent them on to the encampment of Ogotai, where they arrived at the moment when Kuyuk ascended the throne in July, 1246. There they found Russian and Hungarian priests, and a goldsmith named Kosmos. Kuyuk was himself the son of a Nestorian woman, and among the women of his harem and his high officials were many Christians, who were allowed to practise their religion.

In November the ambassadors were dismissed with a written answer from the Great Khan. They were diplomatic enough to decline the company of Tartar ambassadors, as they did not desire the latter to be witnesses of the dissensions existing among the Christian princes, and so to acquire courage for further invasions. The homeward journey through Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and Austria proved difficult, and they did not reach the Pope until the end of the year 1247.

Meanwhile King Louis IX. of France received in 1247 a demand from Batu to tender his submission, to which no reply was sent. In 1248, when Louis was on his first crusade, ambassadors from Ilchikadai, the successor of the deceased Bachu, came to the king in Cyprus, offering him an alliance against the Mohammedans, and informing him that Ilchikadai and the Great Khan had themselves become Christians. Upon this information, Louis sent out an embassy from Nicosia in 1249, consisting of Dominicans, under Andrew of Longumeau, to the Great Khan, to present him with several relics and exhort him to continue in the Christian religion. The embassy went by way of Persia, in order to speak with Ilchi, and on arrival at the camp of the Great Khan found Kuyuk dead (1248). The queen regent, Ogul Gaimish (1248–1251), accepted the gifts as a token of tribute, and sent back the ambassadors with presents. They were unable to gain any more accurate information on the subject of the alleged conversion, and returned to the king at Acre in 1251.

**Mission to China during the Crusades**

In spite of his dissatisfaction at the false construction laid upon the object of this embassy, Louis sent out, in May, 1253, new ambassadors, the Franciscan, William of Rubruquis, and Bartholomew of Cremona, using the supposed conversion as an excuse for their despatch. They travelled by way of Constantinople through the steppes between the Dnieper and Don, and reached the encampment of Khagatai in July, whence they were sent on to Sartach Khan, the son of Batu, three days' march beyond the Volga. He, however, declined to give them leave on his own responsibility to remain and preach in the country, and sent them to Mangu. At his court, in December, 1253, they found many Nestorian priests, who had been given precedence over the Mohammedan imam and the bonzes.

**Second Mission of Louis IX.**

Mangu was present at their divine services with his family, but probably this was a matter of indifference to him. He himself, however, was very superstitious, and never entered into any undertaking without previous divination by means of the shoulder-bones. They accompanied Mangu to Karakorum, where they found Guillaume Bouchier, a Parisian goldsmith. There, at the orders of Mangu, they had a discussion with the priests of other religions. Mangu finally dismissed Rubruquis (Bartholomew remained behind, as he declined to journey homeward through the desert), with a written answer to King Louis, in which he assumed the titles of "Son of the heaven" and "Lord of lords," contradicted the information that had been given by the ambassadors of Ilchikadai and of Ogul Gaimish, and directed the king to act upon the orders of Genghis Khan. After a march of two months Rubruquis met with Sartach, whose behaviour made Rubruquis doubt

the truth of his reported adherence to Christianity. In September, 1254, Rubruquis reached the encampment of Batu, whom he accompanied for a month; ultimately he returned through the Caucasus, Armenia, and Syria, and arrived at Tripoli in August, 1255, whence he sent his report to King Louis at Acre.

The Popes also were by no means idle, though their objects were now rather religious than political. In 1278 Nicholas III. sent five monks to the Great Khan, but nothing is known of the results of this embassy. The Franciscan monk, John of Montecorvino, who had started in 1289, arrived at the coast of South China in 1292 and made his way to Peking, whence he sent favourable reports in 1305 and 1306; in 1307 he was appointed Archbishop of Peking. In this year and in 1312 a number of suffragan bishops and other priests were sent out to him, though it seems that some failed to reach their destination. In Peking, Zaitun, and Yangchou there existed episcopal towns, churches, and parishes, and when John of Montecorvino died, in 1328, the prospects of the Minorite mission appeared highly favourable, although Andrew of Perugia, Bishop of Zaitun, published a complaint in 1326 that no converts were made of the Mohammedans and Jews, and that many of the baptised heathen strayed from the Christian faith. On the other hand, as he himself observed, the country enjoyed full religious toleration, and no opposition was offered to the preaching of the missionaries.



FIRST JESUIT MISSIONARY TO CHINA

Matteo Ricci, who arrived at Peking in 1601 and founded the Jesuit Mission.

Odoric of Pordenone, who arrived at the coast of China between 1320 and 1330, remained for three years in the country and returned by way of Tibet, when he drew up an exhaustive report of the religious conditions prevailing in the Far East. The last communications upon the state of the country which were received from China came from John Marignolli, who resided in Peking as the Papal Legate from 1342 to 1346. Communications were then cut off. In 1370 Urban V. attempted to improve the situation by sending out a Papal legate, an archbishop, and some eighty clergy to Peking; but no news was ever received of any of them. The Catholic mission perished amid the disturbances which broke out upon the downfall of the Mongolian dynasty, as the Nestorians had perished before them. The hostility of the national Ming dynasty in China to all foreigners, the spread of Mohammedan influence in Central Asia, and the conversion of rulers and peoples to this faith are hardly of themselves a sufficient explanation for the calamities which befell the Christians; popular hatred of the foreign doctrine and the foreign teachers must have materially contributed to their extermination.

### The Jesuit Mission

The second period of Roman Catholic activity dates from the voyage to China of Francis Xavier on the conclusion of his work in Japan. He died, December 2, 1552, at Sancian, an island thirty miles from Macao, and a Portuguese Dominican, Gaspard à Cruce, was the first to re-enter China. After some success in preaching, he was expelled from the country, and Martin de Reda, a Spanish Augustan, who followed him in 1575, was, after three years' residence, also expelled. In 1579 the Provincial of India, acting on advice earlier given by Francis Xavier, sent two Jesuits to China, Michele Ruggiero and Matteo Ricci. They succeeded in reaching Canton from Macao in 1581, and after infinite difficulty erected mission stations in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and afterward also in Nanking. In 1601 Ricci arrived at Peking, where he won general respect. His view was that in the work of conversion the opinions of the Chinese should be spared as much as possible. But his successor, Nicholas Longobardi, whom he had himself appointed before his death in 1610, did not share these views, and laid the foundation

of that opposition which was to prove terribly destructive to the Catholic missions a century later.

The rapid progress of the missionaries soon excited the jealousy and hatred of the official and learned classes, and in 1616 an order was issued from Peking to imprison all missionaries. This edict was, however, executed only in that town and in Nanking. When the invasions of the Manchus began in 1618, the missionaries were recalled to support the Government with advice and practical help, and especially to aid them by casting cannon. This was the most prosperous period of the missionaries. In 1627 they counted 13,000 converts in the seven provinces of the empire, and more than 40,000 ten years later.



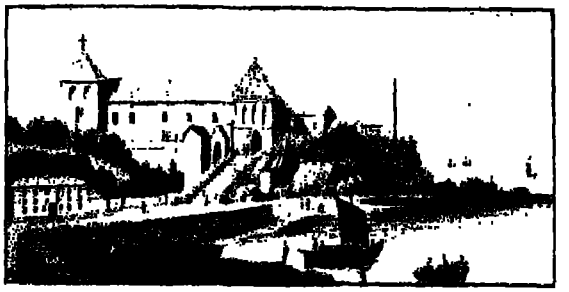
MISSIONARY AS CHIEF OF CHINESE ASTRONOMERS
Father Adam Schaal, of Cologne, who was so respected by the Emperor Shun Chih that in 1645 he was appointed President of the Board of Astronomy. He is here seen in his official dress of office.

The position of the missionaries was in no way affected by the downfall of the Ming dynasty. Shun Chih, the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty, appointed the head of the mission for the time being, Adam Schaal of Cologne, to be President of the Board of Astronomy in 1645, and remained well disposed toward him until his death (1661). However, during the minority of his successor, Kang Hsi, the regents instituted measures of severe repression against missionaries. It was not until the Emperor assumed the reins of government in 1671 that the decree of banishment which had been issued against the missionaries was repealed. The revolt of Wu San-kuei in Yunnan (1673) enabled Ferdinand Verbiest, the successor of Schaal, to make himself useful by casting cannon. These and other services so increased the influence of the missionaries at the Court, that in 1691, after the provincial authorities of Che-kiang began to persecute the foreign priests and the native Christians, the Emperor issued a decree in the following year securing toleration for the Christian faith.

The downfall of the mission was brought about by French intrigue, and by the disputes of the different Christian orders and missionaries. The Pope's patronage in India, to which China was treated as belonging, had been transferred to the crown of Portugal. This monopoly, however, appeared to conflict with the growing interests of France in Further India and East Asia. The Père Alexandre de Rhodes of Avignon and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, supported by the French Government, succeeded in obtaining a decree from Pope Alexander VII. appointing three French bishops to Siam, Tongking, and China. No foreign ship was found to take them to their destination, and this difficulty became the occasion of the foundation of the Compagnie des Indes, which was afterward succeeded (after 1698) by the various Compagnies de la Chine. At the same period the institution of the Missions Etrangères was founded in Paris, 1663, to provide a supply of clergy for the projected missions. At the wish of Colbert a number of the pupils there educated went out to China in 1685. There can be no doubt that political influence was one of the main

objects which the French missionaries then proposed to themselves—a fact which explains the later animosity of the native population.

It was, however, the religious dissensions of the missionaries themselves which became the occasion of the suppression of Christianity in China. Even among the Jesuits conflicting views were held as to the attitude which should be taken toward certain questions. The chief points of difference centred around the traditional worship of Confucius and of ancestors. Ricci and most of the Jesuits could see no idolatrous meanings in these customs, which they consequently permitted; whereas the fanatical Dominicans, as afterward the Lazarists and the priests of the French missions, were entirely opposed to this view. The Popes declined to pronounce a decided opinion. Innocent X. (1644–1655) declared for the Dominicans, Alexander VII. in 1656 for the Jesuits, and Innocent XI. (1676–1689) pronounced the ceremonies permissible in so far as they were merely the expression of national veneration. Ultimately Bishop Maigrot, of the Lazarists, forbade the customs in 1693, and characterised the representations made by the Jesuits to the Pope as false in many respects. The Jesuits declined to recognise this decision, and in 1699 applied to the Emperor Kang Hsi, who made a declaration in full harmony with their views. Meanwhile at Rome the Congregation of the Inquisition had declared against the Jesuits a decision confirmed by Clement XI. in 1704. At the same time Tournon, the Patriarch of Antioch, was sent to Peking to procure an adjustment of these differences. He did not dare to publish the Papal decree; but Kang Hsi, whom the Jesuits perhaps used as an instrument to accomplish their designs, was informed by them of what had happened, and acted the more energetically when Maigrot declared against him and declined to recognise the Imperial authority in a matter which only the papal chair could decide. Kang Hsi banished Maigrot and ordered Tournon to leave China. The latter, being still unwilling to publish the Papal decree as such, made a summary of its contents and issued it at Nanking as his own decision. Kang Hsi replied by arresting him. He was carried to Macao, where the Portuguese were obliged to place him in confinement, and there he died in 1710.



THE OLD FRANCISCAN MONASTERY AT MACAO

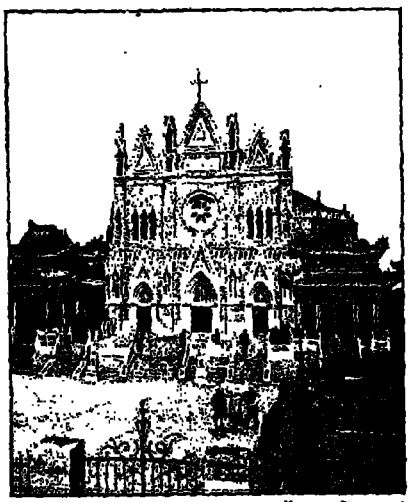


CARDINAL DE TOURNON
Who conducted the Papal Legation to Peking in 1701, and died at Macao in 1710.



THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. LAZARUS AT MACAO

Clement XI. in 1718 issued a Bull, "Ex illa die," threatening with the greater excommunication anyone who declined to obey the Papal constitution of 1704, and sent as a new legate to Peking, Mezzabarba, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Kang Hsi absolutely declined to enter into further negotiations, but stated that Mezzabarba, who had arrived in 1720, might leave the former missionaries in China, but must return to



Keystone Stereograph

ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL AT PEKING

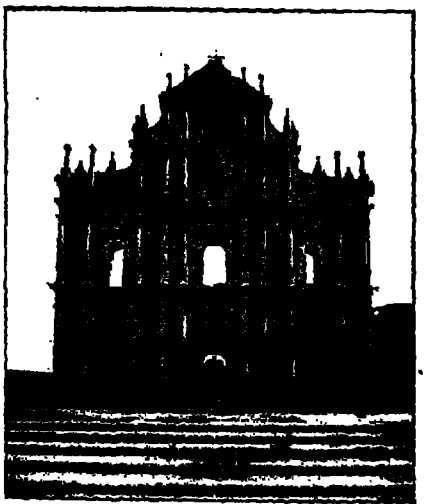
Rome with all the remainder, where the Pope was welcome to issue any orders he pleased regarding them. He was himself the sole ruler of the Chinese, and he forbade them to follow the Papal decrees. Mezzabarba then published the Papal Bull, with the additional clauses, which allowed the practice of the prohibited customs, considered merely as ceremonies of national veneration, but this compromise produced no satisfaction either in Peking or at Rome. Mezzabarba was definitely ordered by the Emperor to leave China and take with him the missionaries he had brought. Pope Benedict XIII. declined responsibility for the actions of his legate, and confirmed the decision of Clement XI. by the Bull, "Ex quo singulari," the terms of which remain in force at the present day.

**Papal Delegate Expelled**

Thus, in the struggle between the temporal and ecclesiastical power, the former had proved victorious and maintained its advantage throughout the following century. It is impossible to say whether the methods of the Jesuits would have ultimately proved successful or have resulted in the conversion of China. At any rate, the action of their adversaries both in China and in Japan precipitated the outbreak of the struggle and accentuated its severity. Even under Yung Cheng (1723–1735), the successor of Kang Hsi, persecution became fiercer; and, although Chien Lung (1736–1795) showed much personal consideration for the Jesuits who remained in Peking after the dissolution of the Order (1773), none the less, both during his reign and that of Chia Ching (1796–1820), the bloody persecutions of the native Christians and the missionaries who had secretly remained in the country continued without interruption.

The state of affairs described continued until the years 1845 and 1846, when the Emperor Tao Kuang (1821–1850) was induced by the proposals of the Imperial Commissioner Kiying, who had approached him at the desire of the French Ambassador De Lagréné, to permit the practice of the Christian religion among his subjects. He issued an order that any missionaries who might be found in the interior should be merely handed over to their authorities in the harbours open to commerce.

The conventions of 1858 and 1860 gave permission to the missionaries to visit the interior of the country and to take up residence there. Moreover, the decree of 1860, the Chinese version of which was falsified by a French interpreter, gave missionaries the right to acquire landed property in the country. From that date the Catholic missions in China have been able to develop undisturbed, apart from persecutions of a more or less local nature. The total number of native Christians of the Roman Catholic Church in China, according to the Catholic census of 1914, was 1,509,944, with 1,474 European and 746 Chinese priests.



ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL AT MACAO DESTROYED BY THE CHINESE



(1) The first school for deaf and dumb. (2) Athletic team of the London Missionary Society's Anglo-Chinese College. (3) Native Christians learning chemistry (photo, Edwards). (4) Chinese girls at a mission school (photo, Underwood). (5) Candidates for baptism from the Church Missionary Society Girls' Boarding School at Foo-chow.

SCENES OF PROTESTANT MISSION WORK AMONG THE PEOPLES OF CHINA

Photos. London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, Edwards, and Underwood & Underwood, London



CHINESE CONCEPTION OF MISSIONARIES
A notorious Chinese cartoon, by a native artist, depicting Christian missionaries gouging out the eyes of their converts.

The scientific work done by the Jesuits in China has been of benefit to that country and the world at large. The manufacture of cannon and the correction of the Chinese calendar have been perhaps the most prominent of the benefits conferred upon China alone, while the survey of the Eighteen Provinces carried out by Kang-Hsi's command in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the establishment of a meteorological station at Sicawei, near Shanghai, towards the close of the last century, have been a world-wide gain. In many departments of science works have been published which have secured for themselves a permanent place in the European literature on China, and the "Variétés Sinologiques" of the present day are as valuable monographs and studies as any of those of earlier centuries when China was a book of which the pages were hardly yet cut. Among the more modern writers, P. P. David, Havret, Chevalier, and Richard have laid those interested in China under a lasting debt of gratitude to them.

### Protestant Missions

The earliest Protestant mission was the Dutch, which, during their occupation of Formosa (1624–1662) did a good deal of missionary work, baptising thousands of natives and erecting schools. On their expulsion by Koxinga all traces of their work disappeared, with the exception of a translation of St. Matthew, printed in Roman letters—a style of writing with which the natives had been made familiar.



AN ANTI-CHRISTIAN CARTOON
Christianity, represented as a hog, is being carried to the door of Confucius, who will have nothing to do with it.




WARFARE UPON CHRISTIANITY
This anti-Christian cartoon shows the missionaries being flogged, and their Bibles being made into a bonfire.

It was not until 1807 that Dr. Morrison, the first pioneer of British missions, arrived in Canton. Working practically single-handed until 1830, he produced his translation of the Bible, and assisted in the establishment of an Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, where the Bible and other of his works were published. In 1831–1835 Gutzlaff undertook the journeys along the coast and among its islands, which, like those of later missionaries in the interior, have done so much to make China better known to the outer world. In 1830 the first missionaries from the United States

had arrived, and about the same date Dr. Morrison had the satisfaction of making his first convert. In the absence of opportunities for work in other directions Bridgman, Williams, Legge, Medhurst, and other missionaries devoted their immense energies to writings on China, many of which are standard works at the present day. In 1835 the first missionary hospital was opened by Dr. Parker, of the American Board.

With the Treaty of 1842 the isolation of foreigners in Canton came to an end, and missionaries had opportunities of establishing themselves at Hong Kong and other ports. This encouragement had such effect that while between 1807 and 1842 there had been only fifty-seven workers in China and among the Chinese in the Straits, in 1842–1860 over 160 others were sent out. Since that time the advance has been so rapid that in 1907 there were 3,719 foreign workers with 706 stations, 366 hospitals and dispensaries, 2,139 schools, and over 154,000 communicants, and more than 10,000 native workers.



NATIVE MISSIONARY PREACHING TO CHINESE
The Gospel is, by the aid of native Christian missionaries, enabled to penetrate into places that are still dangerous for European preachers.



AN IRISH PRESBYTERIAN MISSION HOUSE
This was one of many mission stations burned in the Boxer rising.

This advance has been in spite of, and in great measure the consequence of, persecutions. The period 1890–1900 was especially marked by hostility to missions, first in the Yangtse Valley of Szechuen, then in Fukien (1895), where nine missionaries and two children were murdered, and finally, in the Boxer outbreak, when 135 missionaries and fifty-three children lost their lives. Since that date there seems to have been an entire change of feeling throughout the country, though murders of missionaries have occurred in different places. But the demands made for teaching and preaching, and



A TYPICAL PROTESTANT MISSION STATION
The Mission Compound at Chang-pu is typical of other centres of Christian work

for the literature published by mission presses dealing with religious, economic, and scientific matters, have been on a scale for which no provision was in existence. Of the Bible alone over 2,600,000 copies have been sold or distributed in one year.

The activity of Protestant missions has not been confined to religious or medical work. The Great Famine of 1876-7 found in them the only body capable of organising the distribution of relief, and since that time no large famine has occurred without missionaries coming forward to undertake all that they could do to save those stricken by famine from starvation, and from the pestilence which generally follows, even at the cost of their own lives. An immense effort also has been made by them to lift, from the Chinese public and the official world, the veil which has prevented them from realising the nature and the advantages of European civilisation.

**The Practical Result of Mission Work**

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which has been such a powerful factor in this direction, has been dependent for its editors entirely upon missionary volunteers. The best of the so-called universities and of the schools throughout the country have owed their existence and development to missionaries.

And, finally, the movement in China towards the better administration of government, the furtherance of the principles of liberty and justice, and the elevation of the country from the low position among nations into which it has fallen, is due more to the influence of Protestant missionaries than to that of all the legations consulates, and mercantile houses in China. The diversion of literary activity towards this direction has to a considerable extent interfered with the production of works on China such as those of Wylie, Edkins, Chalmers, and Martin in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their place has been taken by civilians such as Bretschneider, Richthofen, Wade, Mayers, Walters, Hirth, Giles, and Bushell, while the missionary world has found in D. A. H. Smith a delineator of Chinese life and character rivalled only by Père Hèuc.

The awakening of China, which is the feature of the present hour, has revealed in Protestant missions a unity of aim which does honour to the seventy-one missionary bodies now working in the country, whose number has in itself excited the most severe criticism as tending to promote disunion and injurious rivalry. In the Conference held at Shanghai in the year 1907 it was resolved that preparation should be made for a self-governing native Church, responding to the national cry of "China for the Chinese," and that missionaries should themselves federate with a view to unity of aims, economy of work, and the large spirit which would form a universal and combined effort.

A striking evidence of the change of mind in official China towards Christianity in 1913 was the request of the Republican Government to the Christian churches in China that April 27th should be set aside as a day of prayer. The text of the message ran. "Prayer is requested for the National Assembly now in session; for the newly-established Government; for the President yet to be elected; for the Constitution of the Republic; that the Government may be recognised by the Powers; that peace may reign within our borders; that strong, virtuous men may be elected to office; that the Government may be established upon a strong foundation."

**Federation of Chinese Missions**

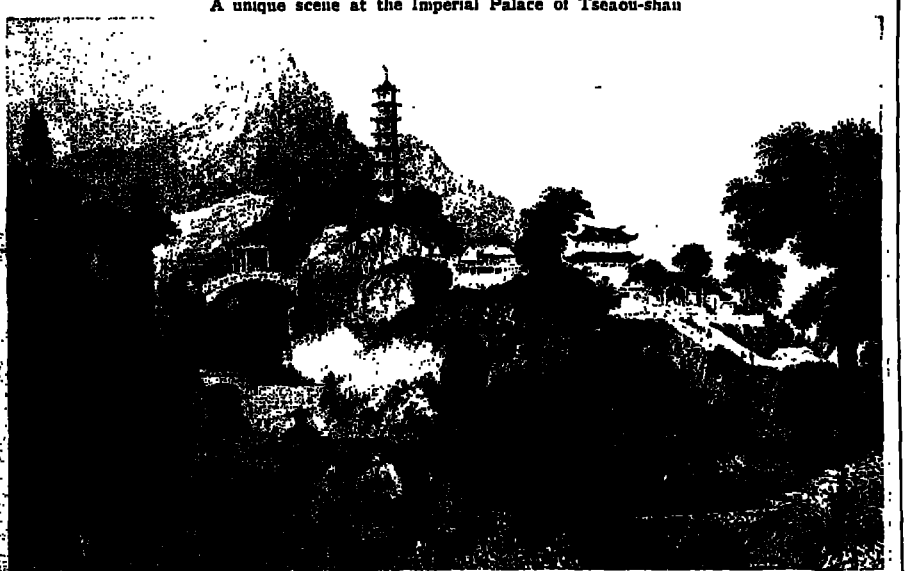
The question at issue is: "Shall China be a Christian or non-Christian country?" And to secure a satisfactory answer to this question united effort is necessary. The spirit of concord which has animated the different missions in the past encourages the hope that the realisation of what is desired may prove possible of attainment.

MAX VON BRANDT.

# A LITTLE PANORAMA OF CHINESE PLACES AND PEOPLE

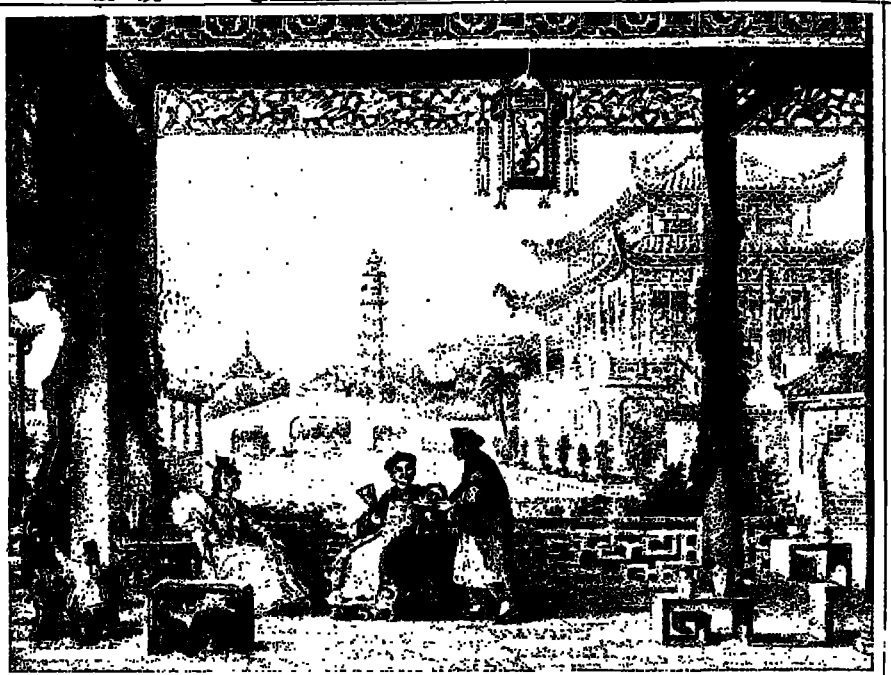


A unique scene at the Imperial Palace of Tseaou-shan



The Imperial Travelling Palace at Hoo-kew-shan

PICTURESQUE PALACES OF THE FORMER RULERS OF CHINA



Pavilion and garden of a mandarin's house at Nanking



Mandarin's wife and family examining the goods of a travelling merchant

SCENES IN THE HOUSE OF A CHINESE MANDARIN



An important official paying a visit of ceremony in his palanquin

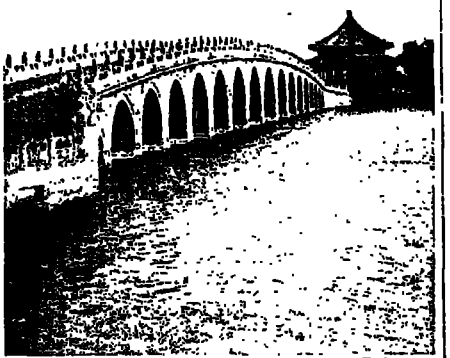


Dinner party at table in the house of a rich official

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF A CHINESE MANDARIN



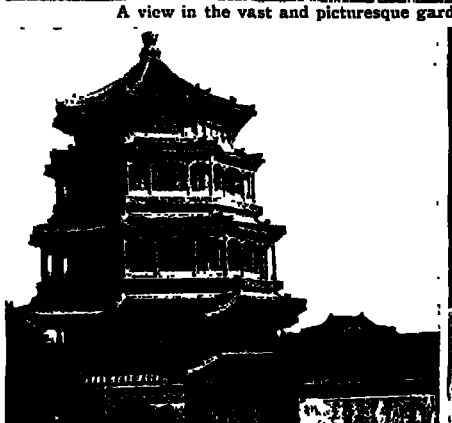
Emperor's state barge on the Yuho Canal



Marble bridge at the Imperial Summer Palace



A view in the vast and picturesque gardens of the Imperial Palace at Peking



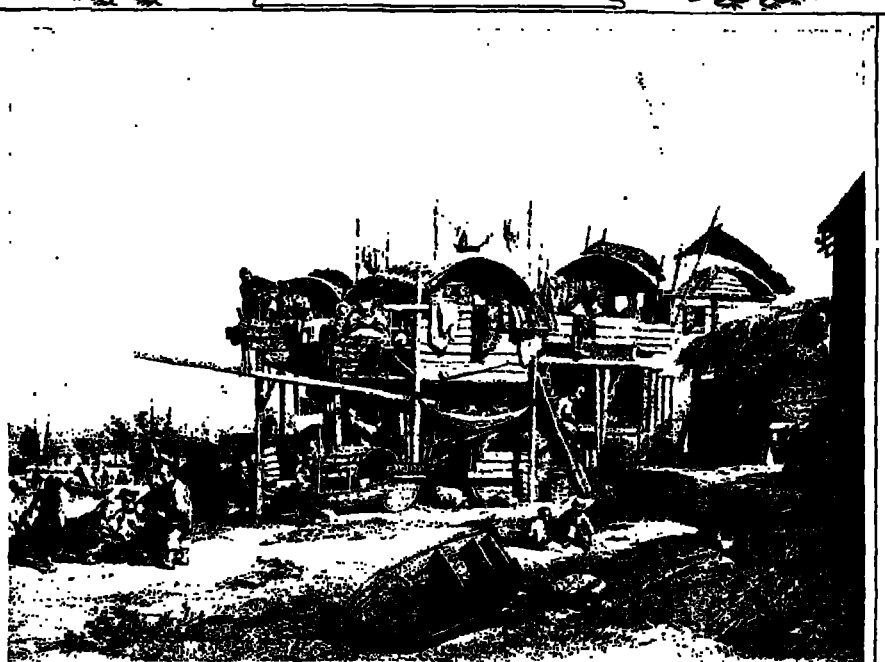
Porcelain tower in the Imperial Summer Palace



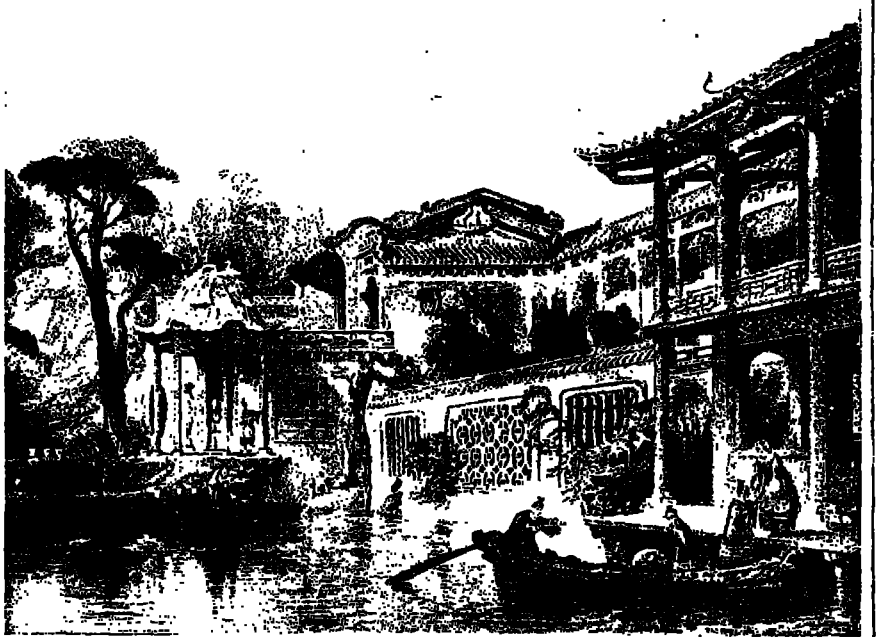
Interior of Throne-room in "Forbidden City," Peking

## GLIMPSES OF THE IMPERIAL SPLENDOURS AT PEKING

Photos by Underwood & Underwood, London, and H. C. White Co.



The wretched wooden shanties of the poor Chinese at Macao



The house of a rich native merchant in the suburbs of Canton

## HOW THE VERY RICH AND VERY POOR OF CHINA LIVE



The cultivation, collection, and preparation of tea



One of China's most important industries: Feeding silkworms and sorting the cocoons

THE CHINESE PEOPLE AT WORK



Kite-flying at Haekwan on the ninth day of the ninth moon



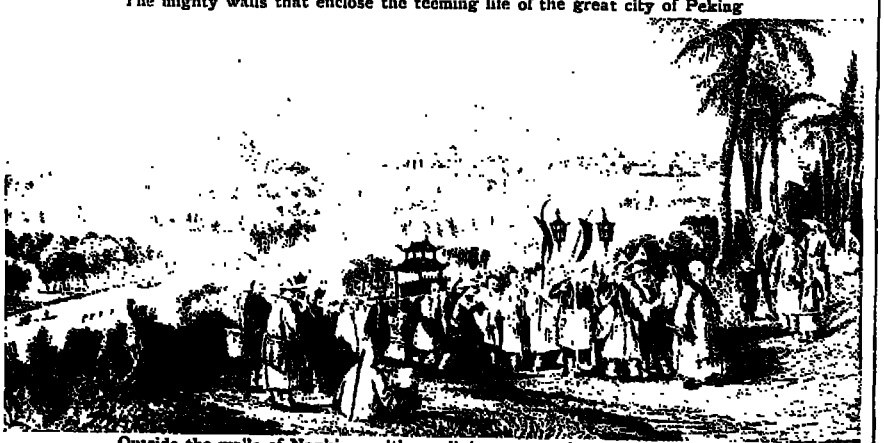
Scene from the spectacle of "The Sun and Moon



Macao, a great city, which has decayed with the rise of Hong Kong, and now notorious for its gambling-dens



The mighty walls that enclose the teeming life of the great city of Peking



Outside the walls of Nanking, with a religious procession in the foreground

## SOME OF THE GREAT AND POPULOUS CITIES OF CHINA



French quarter and native city of Shanghai, with an opium hulk on the left



Hong Kong, showing the City Hall on the right and Victoria Peak in the background



Western suburb of Canton, north of the Custom House, showing a watchman's tower

## VIEWS OF THE THREE GREATEST PORTS OF CHINA

Photos by Underwood & Underwood, London.



Elliot & Fry

DR. SUN YAT-SEN



Lenz

YUAN SHI-KAI, FIRST PRESIDENT



THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MINISTERS AT PROCLAMATION OF CHINESE REPUBLIC




# THE GREAT CHANGE—CHINA A REPUBLIC

THE dictum of Wenhsiang that China, when she begins to move, will move faster than can be foreseen has proved amazingly true in the last few years. Before the revolution of 1912, the tendency of the Imperial policy had been for some time in favour of reform. An enlightened desire for increased knowledge had manifested itself all over the Empire. Schools and colleges, in which Western knowledge is taught, were opened in all large cities throughout the provinces, and outward and visible signs were not wanting to show the growing impatience with the older methods. Even in such matters as dress, this was observable. Lads discarded their native robes and gowns for tight-fitting jackets, and wore their hair short. That China was moving in the direction of reform was plain enough early in the twentieth century.

**Obstacles to Progress**

At the same time, and in spite of the speed of the revolution, there were obstacles in the way of progress not to be overlooked. First and foremost there was the supreme conceit of a people who regarded the rest of the world as inferior to themselves in every way. True, at times they were obliged to admit a seeming superiority in the knowledge and acquirements of the "outer barbarians," but in such cases they sheltered themselves behind the ingenious plea that the system involved was plainly indicated in the Confucian classics, wherein all wisdom dwelt.

Thus it ever had been. After the war of 1860, when the marks of the heels of the conquerors were still fresh on the neck of the Empire, numerous reforms in imitation of European methods were projected, but in each case they were heralded as having been foreshadowed in the writings of the ancient philosophers, much as it might be held that Puck's boast that he would "put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes" showed a knowledge on Shakespeare's part of the electric telegraph. Prince Kung, for example, presented at that time a memorial to the Throne in which he advocated the introduction of mathematics as a subject for the competitive examinations, and served up the medicine in a wrapper bearing an authority from the classics for the suggestion.

**Military Reforms**

The introduction of defensive weapons, after each defeat of the forces of the Empire, had been justified in the same way, but so soon as the pressing necessity for reform had been removed by the return of peace, matters were allowed to slow down to the old level of obsolete weapons and careless drilling. Reforms in military matters, however, since the year 1905, have been of a more enduring nature. The Boxer riots, the advances of Russia on the north, and the victories of Japan, all conspired to bring home, not only to the mandarins, but to the people generally, the consciousness that there must be something rotten in the state of China when such events could occur.

**Weakness of the Army**

The circumstance that Yuan Shih-Kai was formerly viceroy of the metropolitan province tended to emphasise the position. Possibly from patriotic motives, and certainly in his own interest, the future President of the Republic was at great pains to render the troops under his command as efficient as possible. And he succeeded. But the decentralised system of government, by which each province provided its own army and navy, limited his exertions to the frontiers of Chih-li. Chang Chih-Tung—the author of a philosophical book, "Exhortations to Learn," which had a great circulation in China—when viceroy of the two Hu provinces, also did something in the same direction, and the forces of these two viceroys made an imposing display at the autumn manœuvres in 1906. These reforms have to be considered in discussing the approach of the revolution. But it must also be remembered that they were dependent on the disposition of the

viceroys for the time being. The troops of one man, such as Yuan-Shih-Kai, might be next door to a ragged army armed with weapons little better than bows and arrows.

When well armed and well led, the Chinese make good soldiers, but they formerly required a large mixture of leaven in the shape of foreign officers and non-commissioned officers. Then, like the old Wei-hai-wei Regiment, they were capable of doing good service. One secret of the efficiency of this regiment was, equally with that of the troops which followed Yuan-Shih-Kai's banner, that they were regularly paid. Like the Turks, the Chinese were bad paymasters, and this formed a serious bar to any proposed system of reform. Chinamen, like other people, will not work if they are not paid.

Reforms in the Navy were advocated from time to time, but the same bars to efficiency were existent there. Under the command of Admiral Lang, Northern China had at one time—in the early 'nineties—a comparatively good fleet of men-of war. But, unfortunately for the empire, Admiral Lang was driven from the command by an intrigue promoted by native officers, and soon afterwards his ships were entirely taken and destroyed by the Japanese.

One curious instance of the anomalies likely to arise from the current system of decentralisation was afforded at the time of this catastrophe. Among the Chinese ships captured on one occasion was a ship from the southern fleet, the captain of which naïvely requested the Japanese commander to release her on the plea that her presence in the northern waters was due to an accident! In the year 1907 the Imperial Government was contemplating the creation of a new fleet, and orders were given in Europe for the construction of a number of vessels. But a gun is useless without the man behind it, and in the same way no number of ships will avail China unless they are commanded and worked by really efficient officers, and by men who are regularly paid.



SIR ROBERT HART

A great figure in Chinese affairs from 1863, when he became Inspector-General of Customs. In 1893 he was made Inspector-General of Posts. He died in the year 1912.

In municipal and social matters there were signs that the people of the large cities were becoming aware of the advantages of sanitation, and of convenient and rapid movement. In Peking particularly the changes were conspicuous. The streets, which were, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, so many Sloughs of Despond, in which drownings were not unknown incidents, were, and more especially in the Legation quarter, levelled and macadamised. The native springless carts yielded place to jinrickshas and even to two-horse broughams, and in the shapes of these latter vehicles were preserved, as near as may be, the form of the partly disused sedan-chair, much as the earlier railway carriages among ourselves were fashioned to resemble stage-coaches. Numberless European buildings sprang into existence, and, whereas in the year 1900 a bank wishing to establish itself in the capital had to do so almost surreptitiously, five banks stood out in foreign guise, naked and not ashamed, seven years later. The railway from Tientsin was advanced to the Chien Gate, and a macadamised road led through the now historical water-gate into the Tartar city.

Similar changes were observable throughout the provinces. Dr. Morrison, then Pekin correspondent of "The Times," made a remarkable journey from north to south throughout the Empire in 1906, and noted with astonishment the number of European-built schoolhouses which he met with in all the large cities en route. These buildings were mainly erected under the genial influences of the edicts issued by the Emperor in 1898, and had escaped the storm which beset the education movement after the *coup d'état*. Nor were these buildings merely for show. They were full of students eager in the pursuit of European knowledge, and fully convinced that for the purposes of getting on in life the teachings of the historians and philosophers of Europe were to be preferred to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. A great demand had sprung up for teachers

who could impart a knowledge of English —the language most sought after by young China, and any Chinaman possessing a knowledge of it could demand his own terms. Much work was then being done in the translation of standard works into Chinese. Books of history, science, and literature were rendered into that tongue by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Literature, among others, and through the instrumentality of these bodies Chinese students could read in their own language many of the leading works of English literature.

Translations of Conan Doyle, Rider Haggard, and other authors rapidly multiplied. "Ivanhoe" was translated, and by 1907 the Chinese were able to enjoy in their own tongue the "Arabian Nights," "Robinson Crusoe," "The Swiss Family Robinson," "The Count of Monte Christo," "Tales from Shakespeare," "Jean Valjean" (from "Les Miserables"), "Gulliver's Travels," Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and many other familiar works. Educational books were also being translated, and the science and philosophy of Europe each had their interpreters.

The most promising of the youths trained in the local schools and colleges were sent either to Japan or Europe to complete their education. In 1906 there were about 8,000 students in Japan, and one or two hundred lady students, while three or four hundred youths were working in the universities of Europe and America. The influence of the surroundings in Japan was very marked on the students on their return to China. The constitutional liberalism of Japan was in the minds of these young men and women to take the place of the Chinese system of government.

The patriotism, loyalty, and honesty they saw displayed in Japan made the corrupt and unpatriotic system in their native land particularly abhorrent to them. In their enthusiasm for reform they believed that what the Japanese had accomplished, after years of careful study and deliberation, could be effected by their countrymen by a wave of the wand. Time and experience have already proved that the difficulties in the way of setting up constitutional government in China on a firm and satisfactory basis were far greater than the revolutionists anticipated. But in studying the immediate causes of the Chinese revolution, the influence of the residence in Japan on thousands of the picked youth of China must never be overlooked.



ONE OF CHINA'S GREATEST VICEROYS
Chang Chi-tung, formerly Viceroy of the provinces of Hupeh and Honan, a great leader of the new movement and author of "Exhortations to Learn."

Some estimate of the extent of knowledge required by the students educated in the native colleges can be gained by a glance at the questions set at the public examinations in China as early as 1905 06. Instead of being examined in the traditional way on the teachings of Confucius, the students qualifying for the Chinese Civil Service were asked such questions as — What is the bearing of the Siberian Railway on China? What is the bearing of the Treaty of Berlin and of the Monroe Doctrine on the Far East? Explain Free Trade and Protection. What is Herbert Spencer's philosophy of sociology? State how best to develop the resources of China by mines and railways. Explain how best to guard land and sea frontiers from the advance of foreign Powers. What should be the strategic points of China? What nation has the best stamp duty? How do foreigners regulate the Press, Post Office, commerce, railways, banks, taxation, and how do they get faithful public servants?

In those years the Imperial Government also decided that every province was to have its university, every prefecture its high school, and every village its primary school. No less than 250,000 teachers were required at once to meet the sudden demand for Western knowledge. Girls' schools, with gymnasia and play-

grounds, were about to be established everywhere. If all these excellent proposals have not been entirely fulfilled education on Western principles has spread rapidly in the last ten years, and new schools are constantly being opened. The study of Japanese and European languages is naturally held to be of the highest importance, because of the lack of scientific text-books in the vernacular.

Some evidence of the effect of the spread of education ten years ago is afforded by the following Post Office returns: In 1901 there were 176 post-offices in China; in 1905 there were 1620; in 1911, 5352. In 1901, 10,000,000 letters were posted; in 1905, 76,000,000; and in 1911, 421,000,000 letters and 4,237,000 parcels went through the Chinese Post Office.

But the most plain and palpable evidence of the change which had come over the minds of the people in the years immediately preceding the revolution is furnished by the existence of railways, which now traverse the country from north to south and from east to west. Less than thirty years before 1912, the first effective railway was constructed by Li Hung-Chang from Tientsin to the Kaiping coal-mines, but in that year the total length of railway in use was 5,900 miles. The principal line is from Peking to Hankow, a distance of 600 miles. This railway, which was first promoted by Chang Chih-Tung, was completed by a Belgian syndicate, and is remarkable not only for the extent of country through which it passes, but also for having in its course one of the longest bridges in the world—that which spans the muddy waters of the Yellow River on the plains of Honan.

This river brings down with its current enormous quantities of loose soil, which it deposits in constant and large extents. The result is that the bottom is always silting up; and, as dredging is foreign to the Chinese system, the only alternative for the prevention of floods is to heighten the banks. This the Chinese have continuously done, until in many parts of its course the bed of the stream lies higher than the surrounding country.

Desolating floods are constantly the result of this mistaken system, and to avoid the evils arising from such catastrophes the builders of the railway bridge were obliged to carry their operations to a considerable distance on each bank. Five miles was the length to which it was necessary to extend the bridge over this treacherous stream, and much difficulty was experienced in getting substantial foundations for the piers. The continuation of the line from Hankow southwards to Canton was originally entrusted to an American syndicate, but, in pursuance of the doctrine of "China for the Chinese," the foreign



THE CHINESE SOLDIER AS HE WAS—

syndicate was bought out and the work was handed over to a Chinese company. The usual results followed. The work languished, and the completion of the line seemed for years to be as far off as the Greek Kalends. An object-lesson of the delay which occurred when work of the kind was entrusted to native capitalists was furnished by the progress made by the short line between Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong, and Canton. This is a distinct line from that between Canton and Hankow. The arrangements for floating the loan were made in November, 1906, but

the work was begun in 1905, and two years later only twelve miles of rails had been laid.

All these educational reforms and social changes were carefully watched and noted by the dominant Manchu powers at Peking, who were perfectly aware that their continued existence depended upon their ability to direct popular movements into safe channels.

But for some time strong anti-Manchu feeling had been growing up in the Empire,



—AND AS HE IS TO-DAY

and a revolutionary propaganda fomented the disaffection toward the dynasty. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the principal leader of the revolutionary agitation, and for years he laboured to supersede the Manchu dynasty by a constitutional representative government on republican lines. In the southern provinces of China he achieved a large following, and, residing in England and the United States, he succeeded in escaping the vengeance of the authorities while he directed the plans of his lieutenants. As it was, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was kidnapped in London, and imprisoned at the Chinese Embassy, with a view to his deportation to Peking, and only the firmness of Lord Salisbury (then Prime Minister) procured his release. The capture of his correspondence revealed the vitality of the movement conducted by this remarkable man.

When the Manchu dynasty was established in China, in 1664, decrees were passed that the main army, consisting of Manchus with their family relations and descendants was to be provided for out of the Imperial funds. By the same decrees the Manchus were forbidden to intermarry with Chinese, and their women were forbidden to follow the Chinese fashion of compressing the feet. Time added emphasis to the perpetuation of these distinctions, with the result that in the large garrison cities of the Empire two classes had grown up side by side with little or no social intercourse. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Chinese were naturally saying, Why should we pay a large annual sum, amounting to considerably upwards of £1,000,000 sterling, in pensions to a body of men who have repeatedly shown themselves incapable of protecting the country against foreign invasion? To this the Manchus could only reply that they were debarred from indulging in trade and other civil pursuits, and that if their pensions were withdrawn these prohibitions should also be annulled.

As the agitations became more and more serious, the Dowager Empress Tzu-Hsi had edicts issued abolishing some of the distinctions between the two races. The preponderance at the Government Boards of Manchu presidents and vice-presidents was to cease, and Chinese ladies were to be eligible for admission to the Imperial harem. Another mark of distinction to be abolished was in the matter of surnames. The Manchus had no surnames, or, at least, did not use any in China. On the other hand, the Chinese attached great importance to the use and expression of real surnames, and prided themselves on their possession of the same. It was therefore proposed that the Manchus should be placed on an equality with the Chinese by the adoption and use of surnames. But these reforms were quite inadequate to the needs of the situation, and the Dowager Empress was notoriously an opportunist. To go back no earlier than the Boxer movement of 1900. The Empress in that year adopted the principles of those

fanatics under the belief that they represented the will of the nation ; but no sooner did she find out her mistake than she veered completely round, and held out the hand of professing friendship to foreigners generally, embracing with particular fervour the ladies of the foreign legations. The opportunism of the Dowager Empress was characteristic of the Chinese, who are only given to act under the pressure of the moment. And the consideration of this opportunism made it impossible to foretell the revolution of 1912, and still makes it impossible to forecast even the immediate future of China.

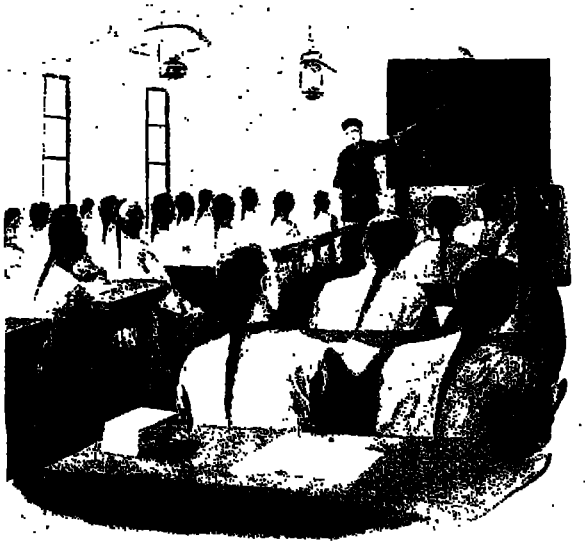


THE OLD WAY
Prisoner in the stocks; trussed by the thumbs and kneeling on iron chains.



PRISON REFORM IN CHINA: THE NEW WAY
Prisoners are now employed in making uniforms in well-lighted and ventilated rooms.

In 1905, the year that was really a turning-point in China, for by that time the awakening to a desire for a representative form of government was common in the southern provinces, the whole body of mandarins, with some few exceptions, were still opposed to any drastic reforms. Their personal interests were bound up with the continuance of the corrupt existing system, and it would have required an effort of patriotism equal to that which transferred the territories of the Daimiyos of Japan to the Throne to make the mandarins of China acquiesce willingly in the abolition of their cherished perquisites. But opportunism required that something must be done in face of the new spirit, and so at the end of 1905 commissioners were sent from Peking to Great Britain, Germany, and Japan to study the constitutions of those countries. The next step was an Imperial edict in September, 1906, declaring that while the supreme control would remain in the hands of the Throne, constitutional government would be inaugurated in a few years' time. A year later and another edict ordered the establishment of an assembly of Ministers to prepare the foundations of constitutional government, and in that same year —1907—local elective assemblies were ordered to be organised. Then in 1908 regulations for the forthcoming provincial assemblies were published, and an edict explained the principles of the constitutional system to be inaugurated in 1917, and the steps to be taken towards it in each of the intervening years. The most important of these steps were the taking of a census, the preparation of provincial budgets, and the promulgation of a new criminal code in 1910, and the establishment of courts of justice in 1911. It all sounded exceedingly well on paper, and the methods ordered were in direct imitation of the



AN INSTRUCTIVE GLIMPSE AT THE EDUCATIONAL METHODS OF MODERN CHINA
Teaching English vocables by comparison with Chinese symbols.



YUAN SHIH-KAI, WHEN VICEROY OF PEKING PROVINCE, REVIEWING HIS CAVALRY

This picture, drawn from photographs and sketches, gives at a glance a vivid idea of how China's army is being brought into line with the armies of the Western Powers, and indicates why this great Viceroy, so much ahead of his contemporaries in the adoption of modern ideas, became President of the Republic on the fall of the Empire.

proceedings in Japan in the direction of constitutional government. Sir Robert Hart predicted a "wonderful future" for China on the lines proposed, though other critics, notably the late Prince Ito, were by no means sanguine of the success of such a programme.

**Reforms on Paper**

It happened, as we know, that things turned out quite otherwise than as the Manchus had proposed, and all the beautiful evolutionary scheme came to naught. With all its willingness to draw up schemes of constitutional government, the Imperial Government did not lose sight of the importance of the Army for the preservation of the Throne and the suppression of troublesome reformers who might be impatient at delay.

The Dowager Empress, in particular, always felt the need of a large armed force at her beck and call. Her last attempt to secure this was the appointment of Yuan Shih-Kai as President of the Foreign Office, or Wai-wu-pu; for it seemed tolerably certain, in 1906–7, that as long as she could command the allegiance of this powerful leader, and of the army of the northern provinces which he commanded, the throne of her line was safe from the attacks of domestic enemies. Doubts, it is true, were thrown on the loyalty of Yuan at the time, but there was no sign then that he would withdraw his support from the Throne; still less was it imagined that Yuan Shih-Kai would be the first President of the Chinese Republic.

One measure Yuan adopted in his army which was taken up strenuously by the Empress. He abolished opium smoking. One alleged cause of the success of the Japanese in their campaigns had been their freedom from this vice, and Yuan set about following their example in the army and populations under his control. The abolition was seen to be a popular movement, and therefore it was eagerly taken up by the authorities at Peking. An Imperial edict was issued in September, 1906, commanding that opium smoking should be abolished throughout the Empire in the course of the next ten years, and that all opium dens should at once be closed. In some parts this edict was received with enthusiasm. At Canton, one of the most populous cities of the Empire, the people received the news with the loudest

**Yuan in Office**

approval, and on the closing of the opium dens formed a procession rejoicing at the proposed abolition of a practice which they had learnt, with good reason, to abhor. In the native city of Shanghai, also, the dens were closed, without any jubilation, it is true, but also without any disturbance. In other parts of the Empire the reception of the edict was not so satisfactory, and for some time it did not appear to have made any difference in the amount of acreage devoted to the growth of the poppy. In 1907 an agreement was made between the Wai-wu-pu of China and the British Minister for a decrease in the importation of opium from India, and on the expiration of this agreement a new arrangement was signed on May 8th, 1911, providing that "the export of opium from India to China shall cease in less than seven years if clear proof is given to the satisfaction of the British Minister at Peking of the complete absence of production of native opium in China." Pending the complete disappearance of poppy cultivation in the Chinese Empire, it was further agreed that Indian opium should not be conveyed into any province (the ports of Canton and Shanghai excepted) which had ceased to cultivate or import the native product. One result of this agreement was that the import of opium from India fell from 51,000 chests in 1907 to 21,260 in 1912 and 17,890 in 1913, while the price of opium in China rose about 250 per cent. Unfortunately, in the following year the Chinese Government at Peking utterly failed to carry out in the provinces the stipulations of the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of 1911. Instead of the gradual lessening of opium production in the country, it was seen that the area under poppy cultivation was enormously on the increase, and at the same time the provincial authorities refused to admit Indian opium, which was left to accumulate at Shanghai to the value of £10,000,000. In 1913 came a real change for the better. In that year the Chinese Government, by drastic measures, destroyed the opium crops in many provinces, and although in some of the southern provinces, where authority is weak, it was still grown, no less than ten provinces were in 1914 quite free from poppy cultivation. The stocks at Shanghai were gradually absorbed (outside these ten provinces) at the rate

**Opium Dens to be Closed**

of 2000 chests a month. To help the Chinese Government still more in the suppression of the opium trade, the Indian Government in 1913 gave up altogether its revenue from the sale of opium in China, and for the first time in the modern history of India its opium trade with China had entirely ceased. A very considerable smuggling trade over the southern frontiers of China still existed, however, in 1914.

The awakening of China, or, perhaps, to be more exact, the awakening of those thousands of Chinese who, through their education in Japan, had come under the influence of Western thought, was far more serious than the Dowager Empress and the mandarins imagined. But the new aspirations for representative and constitutional government of a European pattern could never have become effective but for the decay of the Manchu dynasty itself. The fact that the Chinese Government at Peking had become far too weak and corrupt to deal with the new situation must always be remembered when the revolution of 1912 is considered. No revolutionary propaganda in China, or elsewhere, overturns a strong government or a government that enjoys any considerable amount of popular support. For years the Manchu dynasty had been growing weaker, and its rule less efficient; and for years, while the demand for representative government was growing in the southern provinces, the mass of people were becoming more and more convinced that the Imperial Government in Peking was powerless to save China from the foreigners who would exploit the country.

**Death of Dowager Empress**

The Dowager Empress died in November, 1908, a few days after the death of the Emperor Kwang-Hsu. The new Emperor, and the last of the Manchu line to succeed to the Imperial throne, was Hsuan-Tung, a boy of five at his succession. Prince Chun, a grandson of Tao-Kuang, was Regent of the Empire. The new reign opened badly, for Yuan Shih-Kai was dismissed from all his offices in January, 1909, by a Manchu cabal, and the Government lost its most capable man by this proceeding. Later in the year the elections to the provincial deliberative assemblies—ordered in 1906—were held, and thus with the weakening of the executive at Peking went concessions to the idea of representative government. Plans and schemes for great educational improvements in China were also discussed widely in that year, and the fact that the planning was done by Europeans, and by Englishmen conspicuously, emphasised still further the weakness of the Chinese Government. While Europeans were then arranging for universities, Japanese officers were training the new army which Yuan Shih-Kai had organised when he was in office.

**Five-Year-Old Emperor**

Three chief causes, then, may be noted of the revolution of 1912:

(1) The decay of the Manchu dynasty.

(2) The demand for representative government on the part of the rising generation, influenced by Western thought.

(3) The conviction on the part of millions, fostered by the spread of the press and the opening of schools, that a change of government was necessary for the preservation of China.

The rise of Japan, and its high position as a world power, also had considerable influence on the discontent of the Chinese with the Government at Peking. The boy Emperor, and the mandarins, as hopelessly out of touch with the new spirit in China as the Dowager Empress had been, could make nothing of the movement for political regeneration. The provincial assemblies were held of no account. In vain, in November, 1911, was Yuan Shih-Kai recalled and made Prime Minister of China under the Manchus; it was the Manchu dynasty and its mandarins who were the obstacle to reform according to the minds of the reformers. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's propaganda had created a movement too strong for the old order at Peking, and the Manchus could count on no popular following. Yuan Shih-Kai saw plainly the doom of the Manchus, and his command of the Army made him all-powerful in the North. Without troops, without authority that could command obedience, and unable to rely on the support of the populace, the Manchus and the mandarins could only yield to the storm. For them obviously there was no place in a new constitutional republican China, and Yuan Shih-Kai would not devastate the country by a civil war against the southern provinces in defence of the Throne, even had his army been willing to follow him on such an enterprise. By the end of 1911 the Imperial Government had decided on abdication; in

**Discontent Rife in China**

February, 1912, the formal abdication took place, the boy Emperor read his farewell message, and the Manchu rule was at an end. The last command of the Throne was to order Yuan Shih-Kai to inaugurate a republican form of government, and Yuan quickly arranged for an advisory council or assembly to be elected.

**End of Manchu Dynasty**

So far the revolution had proceeded with comparatively small disorder and bloodshed; the troubles were yet to come.

In April, 1912, a provisional Republican Parliament was duly opened, and then a struggle between the more conservative element in the assembly and the Nationalist Party, the Kuo-ming-tang, took place over the relation of the President to Parliament. Yuan Shih-Kai and the Conservatives were anxious that the Presidency should be settled before the constitution was drawn up; the Nationalists were equally anxious that the President should be subordinate to the people's representatives. The issue was between strong personal government modified by a constitutional assembly, or a popular assembly with a President for its figure-head. Was the seat of authority to be in the Executive or in the Parliament? In this first round Yuan Shih-Kai was victorious, and in October he was elected President for five years. On his inauguration, the European Powers at once recognised the Republic.

The new President was faced by two difficulties: (1) an empty treasury, (2) the dissatisfaction of the southern provinces. The year 1913 was for China a record of struggle against financial adversity and of civil war. President Yuan commanded respect in financial circles as a strong man; it was felt he was the one man who could save China from chaos and anarchy; he succeeded in obtaining for China first the Crisp loan of £5,000,000, and then, in May, 1913, the

**Chinese Republic Set up**

Five-Power loan of £25,000,000. This was secured on the salt gabelle with a currency of forty years, amortisation to begin in 1920. Out of this £25,000,000 China received £21,000,000 in cash—£12,000,000 to be devoted to the payment of outstanding foreign liabilities and £2,000,000 to the reorganisation of the salt gabelle. With the balance in his hands, President Yuan held a winning game in any struggle with the National Assembly. He at once organised a strong central executive government at Peking, and strengthened the Republican army. It seemed that law and order were established and the Republic well started.

But the democratic revolutionists of the southern provinces were by no means content with President Yuan's success. Their political ideals, nourished on republican and socialistic doctrines, were rudely disturbed by the President's Cromwellian methods. It was not to set up a military autocrat Dr. Sun Yat-sen had laboured to destroy the Manchu dynasty and the old political order. The murder of Sung-Chiao-Jen, instigated, it was declared (and the statement was widely believed), by the Government at Peking, quickened the conflict. Sung-Chiao-Jen was a leader of the southerners in the Assembly, he was the Nationalist candidate for the Premiership, and a strong supporter of Parliamentary rule. An anti-Yuanite, and a man of ability and character, Sung was prepared to contend in arms with the President, when, in April, 1913, he fell by the hand of an

**The President's Troubles**

assassin at Shanghai railway station. At once the southerners charged the Peking Government with the crime, and investigations seemed to give grounds for the accusation. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his followers decided that the southern provinces should secede and form an independent State, and then, as in the memorable case of the United States, the President refused to allow the right to secede, and civil war began. In vain, before the actual outbreak of hostilities, the Government called on the Christian churches in China to set apart April 27 as a day of special prayer and intercession for peace within the borders, and for the welfare and firm foundation of the Government; both sides were too impatient to come to terms without fighting. But the fighting itself was not of a very strenuous character, and the southerners were completely defeated. In many cases the seceders were bought off, the Navy was kept loyal to the Government by wise expenditure of money, and with the fall of Nanking in September came the end of the rebellion. The southern leaders fled to Japan when their cause was lost, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who had visited Japan in triumph in February as the representative of the southern provinces of

China, came thither again in August in disguise, and as much a fugitive from President Yuan's Government as he had been from the Imperial rule of the Manchus.

Although Japan refused all official countenance to the rebels of the southern provinces, large quantities of arms were shipped secretly from Japan to the rebels, and considerable sympathy was expressed in that country for the rebel cause. The fact that the revolutionists were in the main of Japanese education largely accounted for this sympathy, as it did for the presence of certain Japanese Army officers in the rebel army. On the fall of Nanking, the breach between the Chinese and Japanese Governments was widened by the killing of three Japanese when the city was looted, and by the demand which the Japanese Government immediately made for formal reparation and an official apology from the Chinese general, Chang-Hsun. The crisis, however, was averted by the compliance of Peking with the demand.

**Sun Yat-sen a Fugitive**

President Yuan emerged triumphantly from the war with the southern provinces, and the anti-Yuan crusade seemed utterly crushed. But disaffection from a strong personal government remained, and the relations between the President and the National Assembly, even after the expulsion of the opposition members from the southern provinces, were not altogether happy.

In 1914 it remained as impossible as ever to predict the political future of China. The probabilities of a successful constitutional government seemed remote. President Yuan Shih-Kai, then in his 54th year, had held office for little more than a year, and his term of authority would not expire until 1918. With the Army under his control he might be proclaimed, as he was in fact, an absolute ruler. Meanwhile confusion and disorder continued, and many prophecies were made of impending anarchy if the central Government could not show a firmer hand in dealing with pillage and organised brigandage. The brigands, known as "wolves," were formidable bands of robbers—ex-soldiers mainly—led in most cases by military commanders from the southern provinces, and they devastated the land with impunity. President Yuan might, in time, establish order—if he escaped assassination at the hands of his political enemies, to whom he appeared the merest tyrant—but financial difficulties beset him in 1914 as they did in 1912. The trouble again was that the resources of China had not yet been organised to enable the State to pay its way. Foreign loans relieve immediate necessities, but the interest on the loans must be repaid, and the financial condition goes from bad to worse. Parliamentary government, naturally, could not produce financial reform by any magical process, and it had not been in existence long enough to accomplish any usefulness. The great bulk of the people in China, as elsewhere, are too industrious to have much time for politics, and neither dissatisfaction with the Manchu dynasty nor desire for a constitution on Japanese lines could make up for the want of political experience. The serious thing for China was that the financial crisis of 1914 forced President Yuan to give concessions to foreign capitalists which impoverished the country and drained away its natural resources of wealth. Japanese, American, Russian, French, and Belgian groups of capitalists were already in possession of valuable mineral and railway rights, and further concessions would have to be made if financial liabilities were to be met. The President was fully aware of the deplorable state of affairs, and, in an appeal to the provinces made early in 1914, he warned his people of the grave danger to the country.

**Absolutism or Anarchy**

"If the liabilities now existing are not paid, financial control will be seized by foreigners. The ruination of Egypt and Korea should warn us that, should China be partitioned through foreign intervention, all will share in the general calamity. The Government actually lack money to meet any single obligation, whilst the lack of funds renders it impossible to erect an efficient administration."

**A Critical Position**

Thus the position was critical for China in the year 1914.

# GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF CHINA

### MYTHOLOGICAL

The time that elapsed from the creation of the world till the "capture of the *lin* in the time of Confucius" was 2,267,000 years (or, according to other writers, over 3,000,000 years). The first being was Pan-ku, who was followed by a line of descendants. The period of mythology is divided into ten eras, which lasted until the opening of legendary history

### LEGENDARY

THE THREE PRIMORDIAL SOVEREIGNS OF MIRACULOUS BIRTH

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 2852–2737 | Fu-hsi or Fu-hi. Taught hunting, fishing, pasturage, established marriage and constructed musical instruments. Composed a system of written characters |
| 2737–2697 | Shen-nung (The Divine Husbandman). Invented wooden ploughs, taught agriculture, and discovered the curative properties of plants |
| 2697–2597 | Huang-ti. Invented utensils, boats, carts, a money currency, and the "tadpole" writing. Advanced astronomy and music. Mapped the empire into provinces, and his consort established the silkworm industry |

### HISTORICAL

| | |
|---|---|
| 2356 | Yao, the first historical emperor, a model of wisdom and virtue. In his time occurred great floods which have been alleged to correspond with the Deluge of Scripture |
| 2205 | Yu establishes the Hsia dynasty |
| 1766 | Tang founds the Shang dynasty |
| 1122 | Fa, under the title of Wu Wang, founds the Chou dynasty |
| 946–770 | Frequent incursions of barbarians. |
| 800–752 | Invention of "Great Seal" characters, or writing proper |
| 604 | Birth of Lao-tse, the prophet of Taoism. |
| 550 | Birth of Confucius, or Kung-fu-tsze |
| 371 | Birth of Meng-tsze, or Mencius, follower and expounder of Confucianism |
| 213 | "Burning of the Books" by Emperor Shih-huang-ti |
| 211 | Completion of Great Wall of China |
| 200 | Invention of Li-shu, or official handwriting |
| 179–157 | The Emperor Wen Ti encourages learning |
| 139 | Communication opened between China and the Scythians of the West |
| 129 | The Chinese appear in history as aiding the Scythians against Phraates and ravaging the shores of the Caspian |
| 126 | Buddhism introduced into China |
| 115 | Regular intercourse established between China and Central Asia |
| A.D. | |
| 15 | Religion of Lao-tse recognised |
| 61 | Buddhist books and priests brought into China by the Emperor Ming Ti |
| 105 | Chinese made paper of bark, hemp, rags, etc. |
| 426 | Attempt to suppress Buddhism |
| 618 | Beginning of the Tang dynasty, the Augustan era of Chinese letters |
| A.D. | |
| 639 | Nestorians allowed to preach Christianity by the Emperor Tai-tsung |
| 667 | Korea subjugated by Emperor Kao-tsung |
| 845 | Christianity suppressed |
| 932 | First mention of printing |
| 1130–1200 | China invaded and oppressed by Kitans<br>Chu-hi, the teacher whose works form the basis of official Confucianism |
| 1249 | Louis IX. of France sends embassy to China [Khan |
| 1264 | Peking is made the capital by Kublai |
| 1271 | Mogul dynasty firmly established |
| 1275 | Missionaries introduced by Marco Polo. |
| 1281 | Kublai Khan makes unsuccessful attempt to conquer Japan. The Grand Canal extended. Kublai Khan conquers Burma |
| 1368 | Ming dynasty established by Hong Wou |
| 1409 | The Emperor Yung-lo has the first copy of his great encyclopædia |
| 1516 | Portuguese arrive at Canton |
| 1536 | Macao ceded to the Portuguese |
| 1550 | War with Japan (1550–63) |
| 1573 | Wan-li becomes Emperor, and under him ceramic and other arts flourished |
| 1581 | Jesuits come from Rome to China |
| 1616–43 | China conquered by Manchu Tartars and present dynasty established |
| 1660 | China tea introduced to England |
| 1680 | Opening of Chinese trade with East India Company |
| 1692 | Jesuit missionaries preach in China |
| 1719–27 | Commercial relations with Russia de- |
| 1724–32 | Jesuits expelled [velop |
| 1760 | War in Central Asia. Empire extended |
| 1793 | Earl Macartney received by Emperor |
| 1812 | Edict against Christianity |
| 1816 | Lord Amherst's unsuccessful embassy to China |
| 1834 | East India Company's monopoly ceases and Free Trade ships sail for England<br>Beginning of opium dispute between Chinese and British |
| 1842 | Treaty of Nanking, whereby first war between England and China is terminated, certain treaty ports opened to trade, and Hong Kong ceded |
| 1850 | Beginning of Taiping Rebellion |
| 1856 | "Arrow" incident causes war between Britain and China |
| 1858 | Treaty of Tientsin ends the second war with China |
| 1860 | Treaty of Tientsin ratified after Lord Elgin's march to Peking |
| 1864 | Taiping Rebellion finally crushed by General Gordon |
| 1873 | Emperor receives foreign emissaries |
| 1876 | Drought and famine in Shantung and Shansi, 9,000,000 dying |
| 1883 | War between France and China regarding Tonquin (1883–5) |
| 1894 | War between China and Japan |
| 1895 | Peace Treaty between China and Japan |
| 1898 | China grants concessions of territory to Germany, Russia, and Britain |
| 1900 | Boxer rising |
| 1906 | Edict against opium smoking |
| 1912 | Fall of the Manchu Dynasty. Republic proclaimed |
| 1913 | Revolt of the southern provinces crushed |



# KOREA

# THE LAND OF THE MORNING CALM

## BY ANGUS HAMILTON

## THE CHANGING FORTUNES OF THE HERMIT KINGDOM

UNTIL the voyage of the Alceste and Lyra in 1816, men had little knowledge of the coast of Korea, of its archipelagic groups, of the shoals and reefs which made its shores the terror of all mariners. In the map of the Chinese Empire prepared by the Jesuits at Peking in the seventeenth century the space now occupied by the Korean Archipelago was covered with the drawing of an elephant—the conventional sign of ignorance with the cartographers of that time. In the absence of charts and maps the island-fringed shores of the peninsula necessarily became the scene of many shipwrecks, Dutch, American, French, and British shipping meeting in one grim and silent procession a common end: captivity on shore or death in the sea.

**A Land Unknown a Century ago**

Some of these unfortunate voyagers survived their experiences, leaving the records of their adventures to an incredulous posterity. In the main, although the coasts of Korea bore frequent reference in the past to these early explorers, men of science and brave sons of the high seas as they were, the lapse of time has caused European hydrographers to delete their names from modern maps. Yet, if our first knowledge of Korea is due to their efforts, now long forgotten, it is a pity to deny to their reputation a resting place among the capes and promontories, the islands and shoals, the harbours, straits, and tortuous rivers which they located. The names of Broughton, Maxwell, the commander of the Alceste, Basil Hall, the commander of the Lyra, are preserved as landmarks on the west, the east, and the south coasts, while Lazareli's shares Broughton's Bay, and Unkoffski's lingers in the waters of the bay in which he foundered. Yet there were many others; but what echo do we find of Durock, Schwartz, Pellisier, and the rest—what of their fates and subsequent careers?

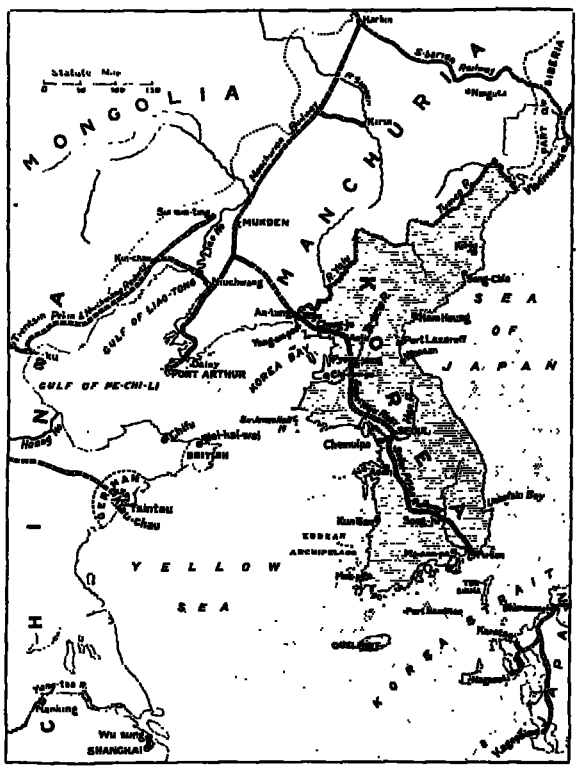
Should not their names at least bear witness to their pains and labours, to the difficulties which they faced, to the small joy of something attempted, something done, which was their sole consolation for many hours of cheerless and empty vigil? Korea, the subject of these efforts, projects in the form of a peninsula from the south-eastern corner of North-eastern Asia. Beginning in 43° N., it extends as far south as 34° 18′, and from west to east is confined between 124° 36′ and 130° 47′ E. Across the neck of the peninsula there is a mean breadth of two degrees, and elsewhere an extreme of 135 miles. The estimated length is 600 miles, with some 1,740 miles of coast line; while the area is 82,000 square miles. Coterminous for

**Physical Features of Korea**

eleven miles with the maritime province of Siberia, the northern boundary is separated from Manchuria and Siberia respectively by the Yalu and Tumen rivers. In the south, straits, named indifferently Broughton Straits, Korea Straits and Tsu-shima Straits, divide the Hermit Kingdom, as Korea is frequently termed, from Japan; to the east there is the Sea of Japan, and on the west the Yellow Sea.

In respect to the general features, close to the northern border there are important groups of mountains with definite centres, such as Paik-tu-san, containing the sources of the Yalu and Tumen rivers; while further south there are the Diamond Mountains. The Korean mountain system has an eastern tendency, and divides the peninsula into two unequal parts. Of these parts, the eastern half is wholly mountainous, and in places falls sheer into the sea. In general this littoral is precipitous and rocky, unrelieved by any islands or rivers of importance, and possessing few harbours, while the belt between the mountains and the coast is narrow and inaccessible, although fertile. The western half is different. Many lateral ranges break off from the easterly trend of the main cordillera, the resulting effect disclosing a chaos of broad-chested valleys, stranded hills and long, isolated spurs. Rivers course through the valleys, and the coast line, fringed with numerous groups of islands and ringed with mudbanks, is unusually indented with harbours, some few of which offer valuable accommodation.

Harbours of first-class order on the east coast are Port Lazareff, Won-san, Port Shestakoff; on the south coast, Fu-san and Ma-san-po; on the west coast, Mok-po, Chemulpo and Chi-nam-po. Harbours of secondary rank on the east are Song Chin; on the west, Kun-san; and in the north, the Yalu estuary. Among the rivers are, in the north, the Yalu and Tumen; in the south, the Nak-tong; on the east the Dungan; on the west the Ta-dong, Keum, and Han. Among the islands of importance may be mentioned Quelpart, Komun-do, Port Hamilton, the Korean Archipelago, and the Sir James Hall group.




MAP OF KOREA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

Prior to 1894 the kingdom was divided into eight provinces. But after the Chino-Japanese war, Japan, taking advantage of her newly-won position at the Korean Court, brought about a reorganisation of the internal administration, under which the provinces were increased to thirteen. Their names to-day are as follow: North and South Ham Kyong, North and South Pyong-yang, Whang-hai, Kang-won, Kyong, Keui, Chyung-chyong, Kyong-syang, North and South Chyol-la, and Quelpart. These, again, are subdivided into 365 prefectures. Seoul, the capital, and the treaty ports—Pyong-yang, Chi-nam-po, Chemulpo, Fu-san, Won-san, Kun-san, Mok-po, Ma-san-po, Wiju, Yong-am-po, and Song Chin—are excluded from this arrangement for purposes of individual administration.

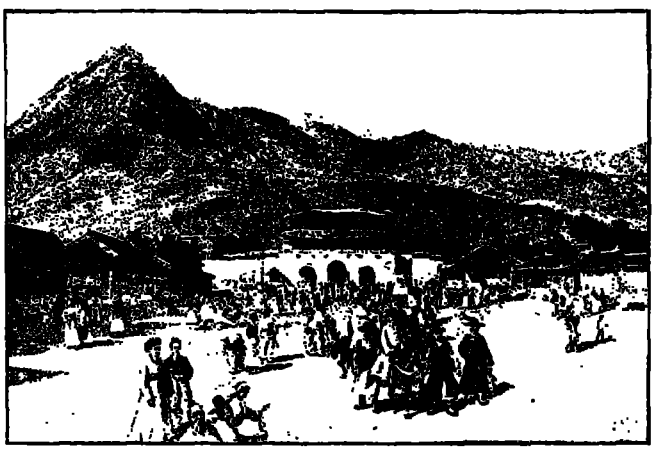
At one time the government centred in the Emperor, who, assisted by various officers of State, ruled as an autocrat. With the rise of Japanese influence, the Government became decentralised, his Majesty, in recent years, directing affairs

through the medium of a Cabinet, in which the ten principal departments of State—the Cabinet, the Home Office, the Foreign Office, the Treasury, the War Office, the Education Department, Justice, the department of Agriculture, Trade and Industry, the Household and the Privy Council—were represented.

The climate of Korea is severe, and varies between extremes of heat and cold. the fertile sheltered provinces of the south and southwest being more populated than those lying in the bleak, sparsely-peopled areas of the north. Estimates of the population fluctuate, and are sometimes as high as 20,000,000, and at other times as low as 12,000,000,



GENERAL VIEW OF THE PORT OF FUSAN



THE MAIN STREET IN OLD SEOUL, THE CAPITAL OF KOREA

with women in a majority. The pursuits of the people are similar throughout the kingdom, and largely agricultural. The area under cultivation is 6,627,000 acres. In the south, cotton, rice, tobacco, and many varieties of beans and cereals are grown; while in the north attention is paid to hunting, mining, and the lumber industry, in addition to agriculture. Beans, cotton and rice, with the development of the mineral wealth of the country, now under Japanese control and including gold, copper, iron and coal, promise the most satisfactory returns.

Coastal fisheries occupy a small section of the Koreans, but the principal fishing grounds have been long in the possession of the Japanese, who, indeed, are in economic ascendancy throughout the country. Hitherto Great Britain, America, and Japan have shared Korean trade, the former supplying some 47 per cent. of imported cottons, as well as 25 per cent. of the general trade. It is to be feared for the future that the Korean market will be the exclusive possession of Japan, and European commerce will suffer a considerable blow by its loss. Descended from no single stock, the Korean nation has been



SCENE ON THE RIVER NEAR CHEMULPO

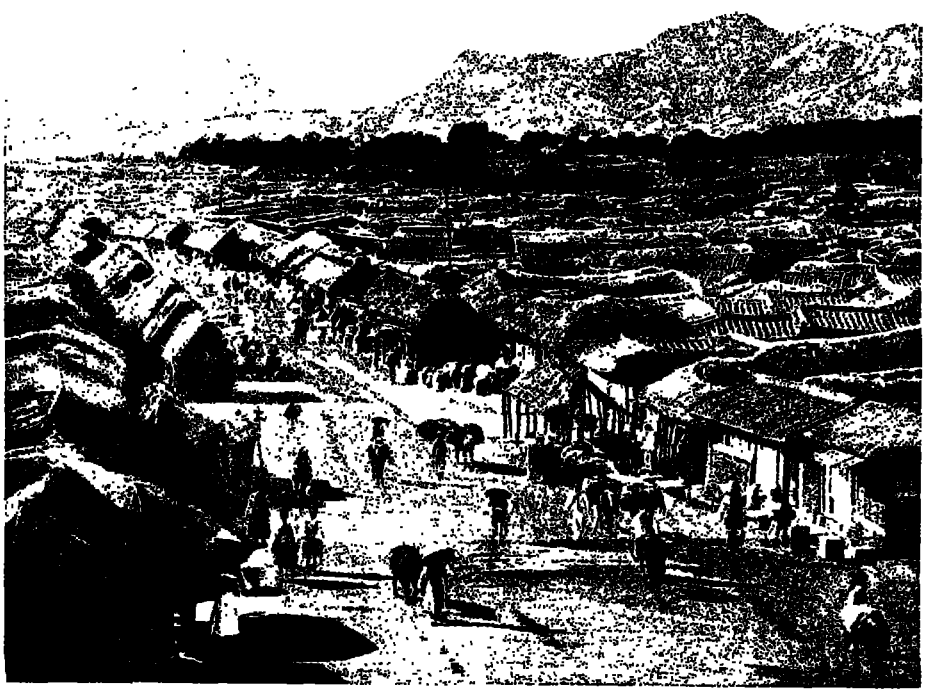


THE "INDEPENDENCE" ARCH NEAR SEOUL



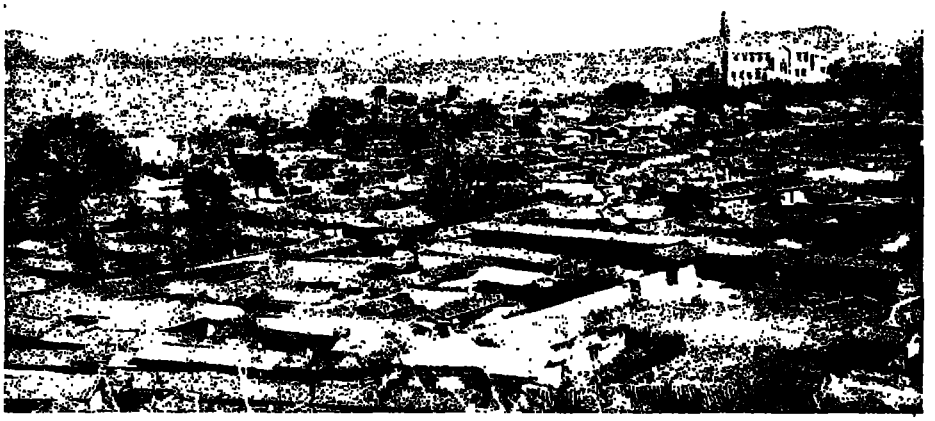
Underwood & Underwood, London

THE WEST GATE OF THE CITY



THE PRINCIPAL STREET OF SEOUL

SCENES IN AND NEAR THE CITY OF SEOUL



LOOKING OVER THE CITY TOWARDS THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL



THE ANCIENT OUTER WALLS AROUND THE SUBURBS OF SEOUL



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF SEOUL

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF KOREA'S CAPITAL

formed by the blending of many Asiatic races, including those belonging to the Mongolian and Polynesian groups. Unfortunately, the early history of Korea is far from satisfying the rigid demands of modern criticism, although it is believed that at the reputed migration of the sage Ki-tze, in 1122 B.C., from China to the peninsula the land was peopled by cave-dwellers. Ki-tze, an adherent of the last Shang sovereigns, left China with five thousand followers upon the downfall of the Third Dynasty. Appointed king by his supporters, he gave to his territories the name of Chao-hsien, or Chosen —meaning Morning Rest—and established in his new dominions the laws, polity, and etiquette of China. West of Chao-hsien lay Ma Han, and east of it Shin Han, the three Governments at this date composing the peninsula, while to each of its neighbours Chosen became a model of culture.

**Settlement of Korea from China**

The dynasty thus founded by Ki-tze produced altogether forty-two kings, and continued to rule over Chosen until 194 B.C. Up to about 200 B.C. a state of intermittent warfare existed between North China and Korea. In 194 B.C., as an after-effect of operations in 206 B.C. by China against the kingdom of Yen, by which name North China was described at this time, a number of Yen fugitives under Wi Man crossed the Yalu, and found asylum with Ki Jun, the king of Chosen. The following year these turned against Ki Jun, who fled to Ma Han, where he was received by the Hiaksai—a tribe whose name literally means "One hundred families"—whose chief he became, and there re-established the Ki-tze dynasty. The rule inaugurated by Wi Man lasted only some eighty-six years, for in 108 B.C. the Chinese Emperor, Wu-wang, attacked Chosen, and, after capturing the capital and killing the king, divided the kingdom into four Chinese provinces in the following year, an arrangement which continued until 37 A.D. In 57 B.C., Yu Kio, a direct descendant of Wi Man, appeared in Shin Han, where he fashioned out of the remains of a Chinese influx in 225 B.C. the kingdom of Sinra. In 9 B.C. the fortunes of the Ki-tze dynasty were eclipsed, and the kingdom of Hiaksai—also called Kudara and Pehtsi—arose upon the ashes of Ma Han.



**SIXTEENTH CENTURY ARMS**
**The loose decorated tunic and helmet, with the swords and maces that formed the arms and equipment of a Korean general in the sixteenth century.**

With the dawn of the Christian era, the peninsula embraced the kingdom of Sinra, Hiaksai, and Chosen, or Korai. Later, other kingdoms—notably Fuyu, Kokorai, and Puhai—which followed it, blossomed and faded in the north, displacing the earlier divisions into which "the Land of the Morning Calm" had been cast by Wu-wang. Of them all, Hiaksai was the foremost, and in 384 A.D. extended a welcome to Buddhism, ultimately passing on to Japan a knowledge of that faith, as of Chinese letters and ethics. Centuries of internecine warfare now supervened, one or other of the little states continually appealing to China, who, wearying of these importunities, finally united with Sinra to crush Hiaksai. The peace that followed was short-lived, for a Buddhist priest, aided by Japanese, set up Hosho, son of the former king, as ruler. Hiaksai was reconquered, when the population fled to Korai, who, in turn, succumbed. Meanwhile, Sinra, having maintained close connection with China throughout the Tang dynasty, 618–907 A.D., had absorbed the whole of the eastern half of the kingdom, while Chinese influence made the capital, Chong-ju, the centre of Sinro-Korean civilisation. Indeed, it was here that the Korean Nido alphabet was discovered. In 902, however, Kung-wo, a Buddhist priest, led a revolt against the ruling power, but was himself displaced in 913 by Wang the Founder, who unified the peninsula under the name of Korai, set up his capital at Song-do, and established Buddhism as the state religion. Wang died

**The Rise and Fall of Kingdoms**



A KOREAN OFFICIAL GOING TO COURT IN A MONO-WHEELED CARRIAGE

in 945 A.D. and his successor recognised the supremacy of China, united under the Northern Sung dynasty.

The territories of Korai now extended beyond the Yalu to Liao-tung, a circumstance which precipitated, early in the eleventh century, constant collisions with hordes of Khitan Tartars. Defeated in the trans-border region by these barbarians, Korea barred their further incursions by the construction of a wall, 200 miles in length, 25 ft. in height, which stretched from coast to coast across the peninsula. In addition, the king allied himself with the Kin Tartars. When that kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols in 1230, Korea made submission to the conqueror, but the murder of a Mongol ambassador in 1231 called forth an invasion by the Mongols in 1240. After prolonged resistance, the king acknowledged the supremacy of Mangu Khan in 1256, and visited his court. With peace established in Korea, Kublai Khan, the successor of Mangu Khan, made the peninsula a base of operations, between 1266–1281, for repeated expeditions against Japan. Invariably disastrous, these attacks encouraged the islanders to make reprisals, and, until the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368, the Korean coast was continually harried by Japanese corsairs.

**Incursions of the Tartars**

With the downfall of the Mongols, there quickly came an end to the rule of the Wang dynasty. Receiving the demand of the Ming Emperor for the resumption of the payment of tribute, the Wang emperor, by way of reply, ordered General Yi Ta-jo to lead the army against the Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately, Yi Ta-jo led his forces against the throne, and, deposing the Wang, founded in 1392 the dynasty of which a minor branch still holds nominal power. The change was for the better, but the new dynasty became entirely dependent on China, although on occasion tribute was rendered to Japan. Yi Ta-jo revived the name Chao-hsien, transferred the seat of Government from Song-do to Seoul, or Han-yang, and divided the kingdom into the eight provinces—Ham-kyong, Kang-won, Kyong-syang, Chol-la, Chung-chong, Kyong-kwi, Hwang-hai, and Phyongan. Buddhism was suppressed, and its priests were forbidden to enter Seoul, while a stern Confucianism became the state religion. At the same time the custom of performing human sacrifice, of burying alive slaves and others at the funerals of famous people, was abolished.

**Abolition of Human Sacrifice**

At first the descendants of Yi Ta-jo were vigorous rulers who increased the centralisation of the government and advanced the welfare of the people. But when these conditions had prevailed for nearly two centuries, the Government, sapped by generations of prosperity, became neglectful and the position of the kingdom gradually deteriorated. Meanwhile in Japan, long years of internal warfare and the downfall of the Ashikaga Shōgunate had brought about the complete suspension of the tribute-bearing missions from Korea. When at last peace was established under Hideyoshi, this Shōgun, ambitious to conquer China, and attracted by the weakness of Korea, demanded in 1591 the renewal of tribute and a passage through the peninsula for his armies. This demand was rejected, and in the following year Hideyoshi launched his invading hosts upon the kingdom.

**Invasion of Korea by Japan**

Early in May, 1592, the van of a force, ultimately aggregating 250,000 men, set sail under Hideyi as commander-in-chief, with Yuki-naja Konishi, a Roman Catholic convert, in command of the Central army, Kiyomasa Kato, a Buddhist, at the head of the Eastern army, and Kuroda as the leader of the Western army. With them were 50,000 horses and 300,000 firearms, this being the first occasion of their use by the Japanese in a foreign war. Fu-san was conquered on May 25th, Seoul eighteen days later, while in July the Ta-dong was reached and Pyong-yang taken. In the meantime the Court fled from Seoul to Pyong-yang, and from that town to An-ju, when the news came that the Korean Admiral Yi Sun-sin, by means of an ironclad, shaped like a tortoise and covered with iron plates bearing terrible spikes, had sunk the Japanese fleet, carrying supplies and some 60,000 reinforcements. The effect of this loss and the appearance of a Chinese army, 60,000 strong, in aid of the Koreans, stemmed the further advance of the Japanese. The allies attacked Pyong-yang on August 27th, 1592, with equivocal success, but returned to the assault on February 10th, 1593, when the Japanese, under Konishi, were compelled to fall back upon the capital, where the forces under Kato were in position. Early in the following month a general battle was fought from which the Chinese were compelled to withdraw, while the enemy was unable to pursue.

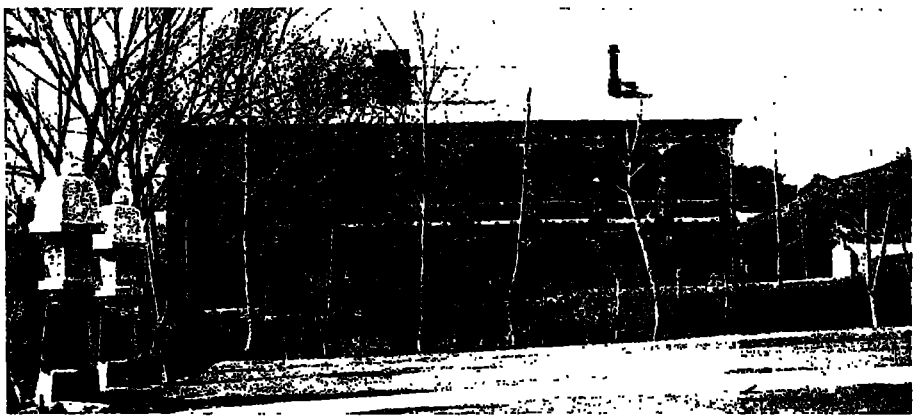
**Korea and China Allied Against Japan**

Both sides were now glad to resume the negotiations for peace which had been opened previously, and were conducted chiefly by the Chinese Chin I-kei. In spite of the opposition of the Koreans, a treaty was concluded by which Korea ceded the most southerly provinces to Japan and recognised her tributary relationship to that country. Commercial intercourse between China and Japan was to be resumed, and Hideyoshi was to marry the daughter of the Emperor of China and to be recognised as that monarch's equal. Until the completion of this convention the Japanese were to withdraw to the coast of Fusan, where they were to garrison twelve strongholds. On May 23rd, 1593, the Japanese evacuated Seoul. A little later the Chinese retired northwards and, after much fruitless negotiation, the Middle Kingdom despatched an embassy which was received in Fushimi on October 24th, 1595, by Hideyoshi. As the message from the Emperor of China with which the mission was entrusted merely recognised Hideyoshi as "King of Japan," a title which had been previously granted to the Shōguns of the Ashikaga family, war broke out again. In January, 1597, after the Japanese fleet had defeated the Korean fleet, the troops made a triumphant advance to the neighbourhood of Seoul, when the destruction of the Japanese fleet by the united Chinese and Korean squadrons compelled the Japanese army to withdraw to the sea-coast. During the operations the troops utterly devastated the country, destroying Chong-ju, the old capital of Sinra.

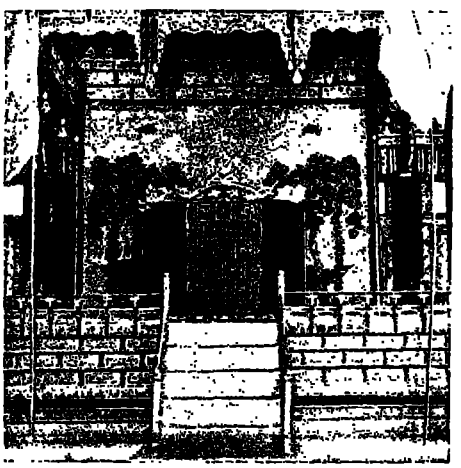
**Renewal of War with Japan**

In the south the struggle centred round the fortress of Urusan, where the Japanese were besieged by Chinese-Korean forces until February 13th, 1598, when the town was relieved. With that success the war concluded, the port of Fusan and its fishing privileges remaining in Japanese keeping. A few months later, on September 8th, Hideyoshi, who, meanwhile, had recalled his troops, died; but it was not until 1623, when the Shōgun Iyemitsu successfully demanded the resumption of the Korean Embassy, that relations were resumed, the humiliating necessity of rendering tribute continuing until 1790, when it was discontinued.

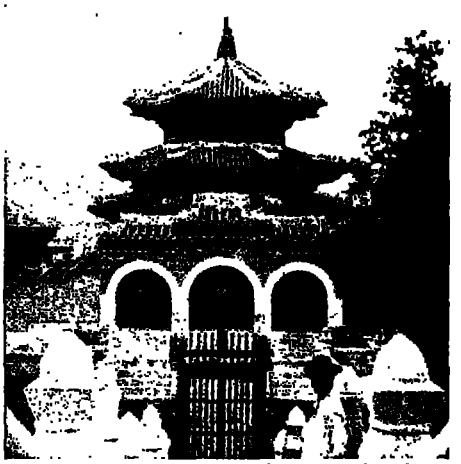
While these events were happening in Korea, the Ming dynasty was threatened



THE EMPEROR'S RESIDENCE IN THE IMPERIAL PALACE AT SEOUL

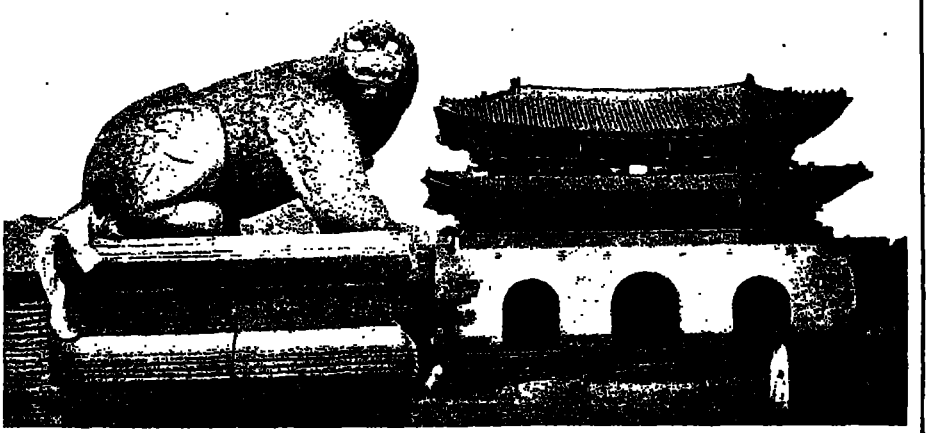


THE IMPERIAL THRONE OF KOREA



Underwood & Underwood, London

TEMPLE WHERE THE EMPEROR WORSHIPS



GIANT STONE DOG AT THE ENTRANCE, TO GUARD THE PALACE AGAINST FIRE

IN AND ABOUT THE IMPERIAL PALACE AT SEOUL

with a Manchu invasion. Therefore, as a general precaution, in 1616 the Chinese Government agreed with the Korean Government to create a waste belt, about 62 miles broad and 298 miles long, on the right bank of the Yalu.

**Neutral Belt Between China and Korea**

Within this zone all villages were destroyed and the inhabitants expelled; while on the Chinese side it was strengthened further by wooden palisades and a double or triple row of forts. As a consequence of the assistance now afforded to China, the Manchus invaded Korea in 1627, and, defeating the allied Chinese-Korean forces, besieged Seoul, until the king, who had fled to the island of Kang-wha, gave in his submission. But no sooner had the enemy retreated than he declined to fulfil his promises, and a fresh invasion of the Manchus followed, with the result that in 1636–37 the king was forced to conclude a new convention. By the terms of this agreement Korea broke off all connection with China, and, among other things, promised to render yearly tribute to the Manchus. After the Manchu conquest of Peking, the Korean tribute was diminished until it became financially unimportant, while, further, its delivery was fixed at intervals of three years.



PRINCE HEUNG-SUNG, THE TAI WON KUN
Father of the Ex-Emperor of Korea and regent during his son's minority. He massacred many Christian priests in 1866, and was the enemy of progress for many years.

The modern period in the history of the peninsula coincides in some degree with the advent of Christianity, which, according to native records, took place in 1686. Between this date and 1792, when the Pope formally recognised the Church of Korea, the faith spread slowly. By 1730, in the reign of King In-jong, the two provinces of Whang-hai and Kang-won were familiar with the doctrines of Roman Catholicism, the town of Yang-geun being regarded as the actual birthplace of the movement. Fifty years later, in 1780, Kwun Chul-sin, possessed of a single copy of the scriptures, established a society for the study of Christianity; and in the same year Alexandre de Govea, the Franciscan, baptised at Peking the first of Korean colporteurs. Five years later the number of supporters had increased so much that the faith aroused opposition and the throne was memorialised, active persecution beginning in 1791, with the execution of six important converts. In 1792 the Church of Korea was entrusted to the Bishop of Peking, who despatched, as the first ordained priest to the new field, Père Tsiou, a Chinese, who, together with thirty converts, gave up his life in 1801.

A generation later Korea was detached from the diocese of North China. The first incumbent, M. Bruguière, created Bishop of Korea by Pope Gregory XVI., was detained on the northern border of the kingdom through the intrigues of Père Yu, a Chinese priest already in residence in Seoul, and died before entering his see. In 1835 Père Maubant, of the Société des Missions Etrangères, was appointed to the bishopric, and, in 1837, was given the assistance of two French priests, one of whom was Bishop Imbert. At this date there were nine thousand converts, but the imprudent zeal of their leaders gave the signal for an outburst of bloodthirsty persecution in which the three priests, together with some seventy converts, were beheaded, and sixty others strangled.

**Christian Martyrs in Korea**

Undeterred by the fate of their predecessors, two more priests arrived in 1844. In 1846 the French Government wrote complaining of the murder of its three subjects, and despatched, in 1847, the French frigate La Gloire and the corvette La Victorieuse in support of its letter. The two vessels were wrecked, however, and the outbreak of the Revolution of



PEACE WITH JAPAN IN 1876: ARRIVAL OF THE KOREAN AMBASSADOR AT YOKOHAMA



DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,

BRITISH AND CHINESE ENVOYS SIGNING THE TREATY WITH KOREA IN 1882

1848 prevented further action. Meanwhile the King died, and in 1849 Chul Thong came to the throne, after which, until his demise in 1863, religious persecution ceased. During these fourteen years the strength of Korean Catholicism steadily increased. In 1857 there were 16,500 converts and at the close of this reign there were nearly twenty thousand adherents, many of whom were massacred by the succeeding ruler in 1866. With the death of Chul Thong, Queen Chol, the leading wife of the late monarch, seized the government and nominated to the succession a lad of twelve years of age, Heui Yi, who was deposed in 1907. On this boy's behalf a regency was proclaimed by his father, Prince Heung-sung, commonly styled the Tai Won Kun. Although no steps were taken at first to arrest the spread of the Gospel, the demand of a Russian warship for freedom of trade, in January, 1866, revived the alarm which had been created in 1860, when the boundaries of Russia and Korea had become co-terminous through the cession of the Ussuri province to Russia by China. The demand was rejected, but the Tai Won Kun, some two months later and in order to emphasise his contempt of foreign overtures, signed the death warrants of a number of French missionaries, including Bishop Berneux, Bretenieres, Beaulieu, Dorie, Petitnicolas, Pourthie, Daveluy, Aumaitre and Huin. In fact, only three priests escaped, Calais, Feron and Ridel, the latter conveying to Chifu the story of the massacre.

**Progress of Catholicism in Korea**

By this time Korea had thoroughly aroused the curiosity of the Occident and was the subject of frequent investigation. In June of this same year (1866) an American sailing ship, the Surprise, was wrecked off Whang-hai Province, the crew being safely escorted out of the kingdom; but in September the crew of the General Sherman were butchered when landing on the Ta-dong River. The massacre of the French priests and American soldiers provoked the respective Governments to demand satisfaction from China, and, with China's repudiation of responsibility for the acts of her vassal, a French squadron under Admiral Rose, on October 11th, 1866, blockaded the Han river and attacked Kang-wha; while in May, 1871, an American flotilla under Admiral Rogers, comprising the Colorado, Alaska, Bernicia, Monocacy, and Palos, repeated the operation. Neither fleet was very successful, and knowledge of their discomfiture spurred the Tai Won Kun to fresh excesses, which continued until 1873, when disaffection against his policy compelled the Regent to surrender the reins of authority to their rightful holder.

**Christian Persecutors Punished**

Since 1866, the young king had been married to a member of the Min family, a niece of the wife of the Tai Won Kun, and under her influence conditions now rapidly improved. Unfortunate "incidents" were still to occur; but when, in September, 1875, a Korean fort fired upon a Japanese warship engaged in survey work off the coast, and in turn was seized, a treaty of peace was promptly signed with the assent of China on February 27th, 1876. By this instrument Fusan was opened forthwith to Japanese settlement, and Chemulpo and Won-san in 1880, while Ministers Plenipotentiary were to be exchanged and the independence of the kingdom specifically recognised. The first Ministers took up their respective duties in 1879, by which time there were indications of a grave crisis through a conflict of policy between the Queen's party and a reforming Opposition. The Queen's faction comprised the Min family and all other sponsors for the opening of the kingdom. On the other side was a group of Extremists, who, having imbibed in Japan an enthusiasm for reform, failed to realise that the sweeping changes already effected in the one country were unsuited to the other. While the Japanese supported the confused yearnings of the Extremists, the other faction fell back upon the counsels of China, which no longer wished to play an indecisive rôle in Korea. Thus grouped on the two sides of Korea were the future antagonists, when matters were complicated by the attempt of the Tai Won Kun to engineer a military rising in July, 1882, with a view to securing the reins of government again. Irrespective of party, both factions were attacked by the riotous soldiery, who, after killing many of the Min family and driving the queen from the capital, destroyed the Japanese Legation, killed many Japanese, and recalled the Tai Won Kun. As soon as news of the revolution reached the Chinese Government, Li Hung-chang despatched to the capital some 3,000

**Opening of the Hermit Kingdom**

troops, by the aid of whom the queen was restored and the Tai Won Kun deported to Tientsin, Japan receiving ample compensation. Although the revolt was suppressed, Chinese troops remained close at hand, and in October an officer of the force, Yuan-shi-kai, afterwards to become Viceroy of Pechili, was appointed Chinese Resident to the Korean Court.

China, once more established in the Peninsula, now proceeded to issue, in respect of Korea, her "Trade and Frontier Regulations, 1882," while America followed with a commercial treaty. In 1883 treaties with Great Britain and Germany were signed, Italy and Russia following suit in 1884. In this year the absolute isolation which Korea had so long preserved terminated with the opening of the capital to foreign residence and the provinces to foreign travellers. For the moment, however, the development of Korea's foreign relations was checked by a second collision between the Min faction and the Extremists, who, continuing to receive the sympathy of Japanese, were endeavouring to arrange for a Japanese man-o'-war to support a *coup de main*. Details of the plot becoming known, the leaders of the Extremists decided upon immediate action, and between nightfall of December 4th and dawn of the 5th six of the principal Korean statesmen were cut down. While these events were occurring the conspirators compelled the king to summon Japanese help, and before light had broken completely on the 5th, 400 Japanese soldiers were in possession of the Imperial Palace. Meanwhile the Koreans gathered to the attack, and, supported by Chinese troops, drove the Japanese on the 6th from the palace to their legation. On the 7th, with renewed vigour, the allies wrecked the legation, compelling the Japanese to retreat to the coast.

The collision of 1884 resulted in the payment of a second indemnity to Japan, but in April, 1885, a convention was signed at Tientsin by Count—now the Marquis—Ito and Li Hung-chang by which both Powers agreed to withdraw their military forces from Korea, each undertaking to inform the other of any future decision to send troops there. By this arrangement tranquillity was secured to Korea for nine years, in the course of which treaties were enacted with France in 1886, and Austria in 1892, while the ports of Fu-san, Won-san and Chemulpo were opened, the telegraph introduced, a government hospital and an English language school established. At the same time the passage of these years was marked by continual rivalry between the Queen's faction and the Tai Won Kun,



THE EMPEROR HEUI HI AND HIS SUCCESSOR

In the spring of 1907 the Emperor Heui Hi—on the left—was deposed by the Japanese on account of his opposition to their measures, and his son, the Crown Prince, was placed on the throne.

now returned from China and secretly supported by the Japanese, as well as by the increasing domination of the Chinese Resident, a circumstance no less resented by Japan, who strove to detach Korea from her allegiance to China.

Matters drifted from year to year, until in May, 1894, the activity of some Tong-hak rebels, who previously had defeated a Korean force, caused the King of Korea to appeal to China for assistance. The



LANDING JAPANESE WAR STORES AT CHEMULPO IN 1894: AMMUNITION TO THE LEFT, PONTOONS IN SEGMENTS TO THE RIGHT



THE BATTLE THAT MADE THE JAPANESE MASTERS OF KOREA: CAPTURE OF PHYONG-YANG IN 1894

In the war with China in 1894 Japan captured the important strategical point of Phyong-Yang, in North-west Korea, after a pitched battle in which 14,000 Japanese routed 33,000 Chinese.

Chinese, having notified Japan in accordance with the stipulation of the Chino-Japanese treaty of 1885, embarked 2,000 men, who, landing on June 10th, proceeded to Asan, a point some forty miles south of the capital and the centre of the disaffected area, whereupon Japan, already prepared, disembarked some 10,000 men, and took possession of Seoul, Chemulpo, and Fu-san.

In the interesting diplomatic correspondence that followed, Japan endeavoured to justify her action, but negotiations only led to a deadlock, and on July 20th the Japanese Minister in Seoul threatened the Korean Government with decisive measures unless the Chinese troops were ordered out of the country. At the request of the King of Korea, the Powers now intervened, and China had agreed to the simultaneous withdrawal of the Japanese and Chinese forces when, on July 23rd, Japanese forcibly occupied the Imperial Palace, and dispossessed the pro-Chinese party. Two days later, after three Japanese cruisers had destroyed three obsolete Chinese men-o'-war, the second-class Japanese cruiser Naniwa sank the Kowshing — an unarmed and defenceless British steamer bound for Chemulpo with 1,200 troops, the bulk of whom were drowned. On the 29th the Chinese were defeated in the first land engagement, and on August 1st war was declared.



THE MURDERED QUEEN OF KOREA

On the morning of October 8th, 1805, she was murdered by a mob of Japanese and Koreans incited by Japanese agents, and was degraded after her death.

Hostilities now proceeded apace. August and a part of September were occupied by the Japanese in moving their troops through Korea, while, in the same way, the Chinese advanced across Manchuria. By mid-September the opposing forces were in position about Phyong-yang, where, on the 15th, a general attack by the Japanese on the Chinese entrenchments resulted in victory for the Mikado. The Chinese now retired from Korea, and on January 8th, 1895, the King, at the behest of the Japanese, solemnly renounced Chinese suzerainty. Still later, by the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, April 17th, 1895, China acknowledged the independence of Korea, and withdrew from the country.

Emboldened by success, Japanese influence in Korea now began rapidly to assert itself. Japanese advisers were allotted to various departments of State, abuses were checked and reforms devised. Unfortunately, the spirit of reformation was too impetuous, and progress was blocked by the objections of the Royal Family, as well as of the Extremists, to many of the proposed changes. Opposition, however, merely aroused the irritation of the Japanese, who, disinclined to brook delay, had begun to realise that one or other of the rival domestic factions would have to be deposed. Thus, although Independence Day was celebrated on June 6th by the King and the whole nation, by the end of July an impasse had arisen during which the Japanese Minister, Count Inouyé, who was the friend of the Royal Family, retired.

Early in August another Minister arrived, in the person of Viscount Miura, who considered that the adjustment of difficulties in Korea needed only vigorous action. In this view he was supported by the Tai Won Kun, who, shortly after Viscount Miura's arrival in Seoul, appealed to the Japanese Minister for assistance in effecting a radical change. With the connivance of the Tai Won Kun and, as is generally believed, with the sanction of the Japanese Minister, a plan was formed to seize the palace, to murder the Queen, to depose the King, and to establish once again the rule of the ex-Regent. About three o'clock on the morning of October 8th, 1895, at the instigation of Viscount Miura, a mob of Japanese with a number of Koreans,



YEE YONG IK
The Korean Machiavelli, who rose from a coolie to political power.



KIM KA CHIM
Korea's greatest politician.



HAN BIM CHUL
A Korean Foreign Minister.



PRINCE MIN YONG WHAN
This general committed suicide when his country lost her independence in 1905.



PRINCE YI CHAY SOON
Known as "The Fat Prince."



GENERAL KWAN CHAY HUNG
Commander of the Household Troops.



MIN YONG QUAN
Korean Prince and society leader.

SOME NOTABLE FIGURES IN THE MODERN HISTORY OF KOREA

under the direction of the Tai Won Kun, gave effect to the plot. Three days later, while the monarch was a close prisoner, a spurious decree was issued, degrading the late Queen to the level of a woman of the lowest class, and applauding the fate that had befallen her Majesty as a fitting punishment for her interference in State affairs. On the following day, by a further edict and out of pity for the Crown Prince, the posthumous status of the late Queen was raised to the rank of a concubine of the first class, while on October 15th, a third edict stated that preparations for the selection of a new Royal bride were to be made.

**Degradation of a Dead Queen**

At this stage the Japanese Government awoke to the urgency of the situation, and recalled Viscount Miura. In the meantime, the Tai Won Kun continued to offer insults to the late Queen's memory, and to subject his Majesty to a humiliating confinement. For three months this condition of affairs prevailed, but after this the King contrived to turn the tables upon his oppressors by escaping on February 11th, 1896, to the Russian Legation, where he at once proceeded to revoke the various decrees that the Tai Won Kun had circulated.

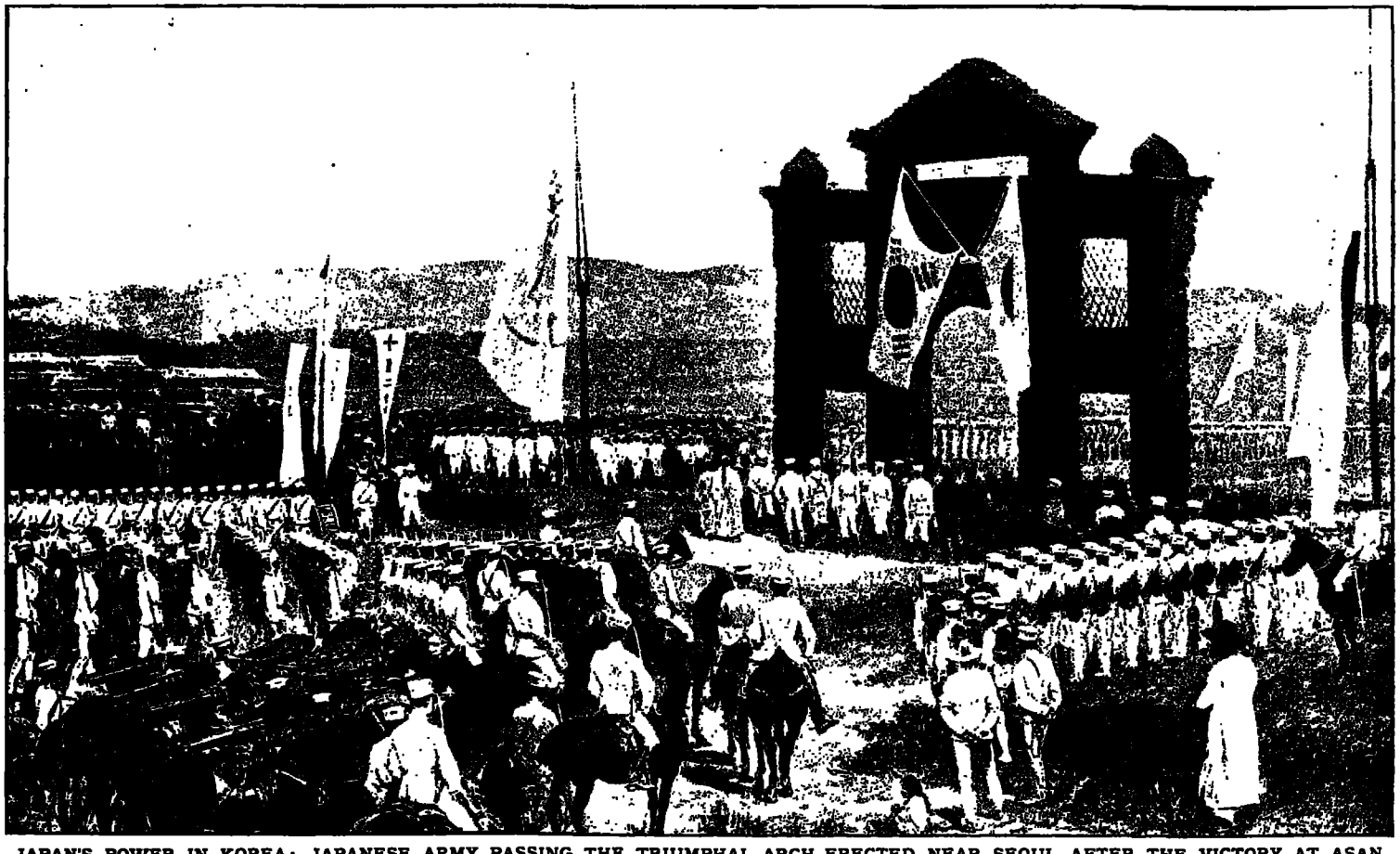


MEMORIAL ARCH AT SEOUL TO THE MEMORY OF THE MURDERED QUEEN

With the return of the King the wane of Japanese influence began. In order to meet the situation, on May 14th the new Japanese Minister, Baron Komura, concluded with M. Waeber, the Russian Minister at Seoul, a Russo-Japanese Memorandum, by which the two Powers agreed to limit their respective military forces in Korea to 800 men, Japan maintaining an additional 200 police for patrolling the military telegraph line she had built between Fu-san and Seoul. The principle of this agreement was confirmed on the 9th of the following month at Moscow between Prince Lebanoff and the Marquis Yamagata, when it was agreed that the two Powers jointly should advise upon the retrenchment of superfluous expenditure, and should advance any loans necessary for the execution of reforms. At the same time Russia was conceded the right of laying a telegraph line between her frontier and Seoul, where the King still remained under the protection of the Russian Minister.

Taking advantage of his presence in the Russian Legation, many Russians of high rank visited his Majesty, a curious light being thrown upon the Russian view of the Waeber-Komura-Lebanoff-Yamagata Convention by the report that M. Waeber was negotiating for the lease of the spacious harbour of Ma-san-po. At the same time the King, on July 4th, granted to French interests, which were believed to mask a Russian claim, the right to construct a railway between Seoul and Wiju, and, in the autumn of 1896, a lumber concession on the Yalu and Tumen rivers for twenty years to M. Brunner, a Russian merchant from Vladivostock, who, in point of fact, covered the identity of the Russo-Chinese Bank, the direct instrument of the Russian Government. This concession was liable to forfeiture unless work on it was begun within five years. Other concessions were also awarded, including one for the construction of the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway to an American, acting for Japanese interests. In general an era of progress had arrived, domestic development being promoted by Chief Commissioner of Customs and Financial Adviser to the Government, Mr., now Sir John, McLeavy Brown, who, possessed of large powers, applied a vigorous brush to the cleansing of the capital. By his agency many streets were widened and drained, and reforms were inaugurated. Early in 1897 the King decided to leave the Russian Legation, and in February his Majesty took up his residence in the Myung-yi Palace, which had been recently erected. The change of abode was not accompanied at first by any

**Reforms by the British Commissioner**



JAPAN'S POWER IN KOREA: JAPANESE ARMY PASSING THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH ERECTED NEAR SEOUL AFTER THE VICTORY AT ASAN

retrograde policy. A mining concession was granted to Germans, foreign language and missionary schools were founded, and the main commercial route of the country freed from obstructions. Still later Chi-nam-po and Mok-po were opened as treaty ports. These events, however, had hardly taken place when a reactionary movement set in, the effect of which was obscured in the summer of 1897 by the vigorous manifestation of Russia's interest in Korea under circumstances which were dictated by the requirements of Russian policy in Manchuria. Since the eclipse of Japanese influence, owing to the events of 1895, the training of the Korean Army had reverted to Russian instructors, and, beginning in this quarter, a more decided note now appeared in the Russian policy.

**Russian Intrigues in Seoul**

In August, Colonel Potiata, three officers and ten non-commissioned officers of the Russian Army came to Seoul as additional military instructors to the Korean troops, their appearance coinciding with the displacement of M. Waeber by M. de Speyer. Arriving on September 7th, M. de Speyer at once demanded the cession of a coaling station on Deer Island, near Fusan, in an effort to offset Japanese prestige at that port. Rebuffed in this direction, the Russian representative, encouraged by a certain group of Korean officials, contrived to dispossess Mr. McLeavy Brown from his dual position as Financial Adviser and Chief Commissioner of Customs, and caused M. Kir Alexieff, an official of the St. Petersburg Bureau of Finance, to be appointed the Director of the Finance Department. At the same time, in order to give colour to the magnitude of Russian financial interests in Korea, the Russo-Chinese Bank opened a branch institution under the guise of the Russo-Korean Bank. As these events were in process of evolution, the King, anxious to emphasise the independence of Korea, pronounced, on October 12th, the elevation of the kingdom to the rank of empire, and changed its official designation to Dai Han, that is, Great Han, a step eliciting immediate recognition from all the Powers.



SIR JOHN MCLEAVY BROWN
Late Financial Adviser and Commissioner of the Korean Customs.

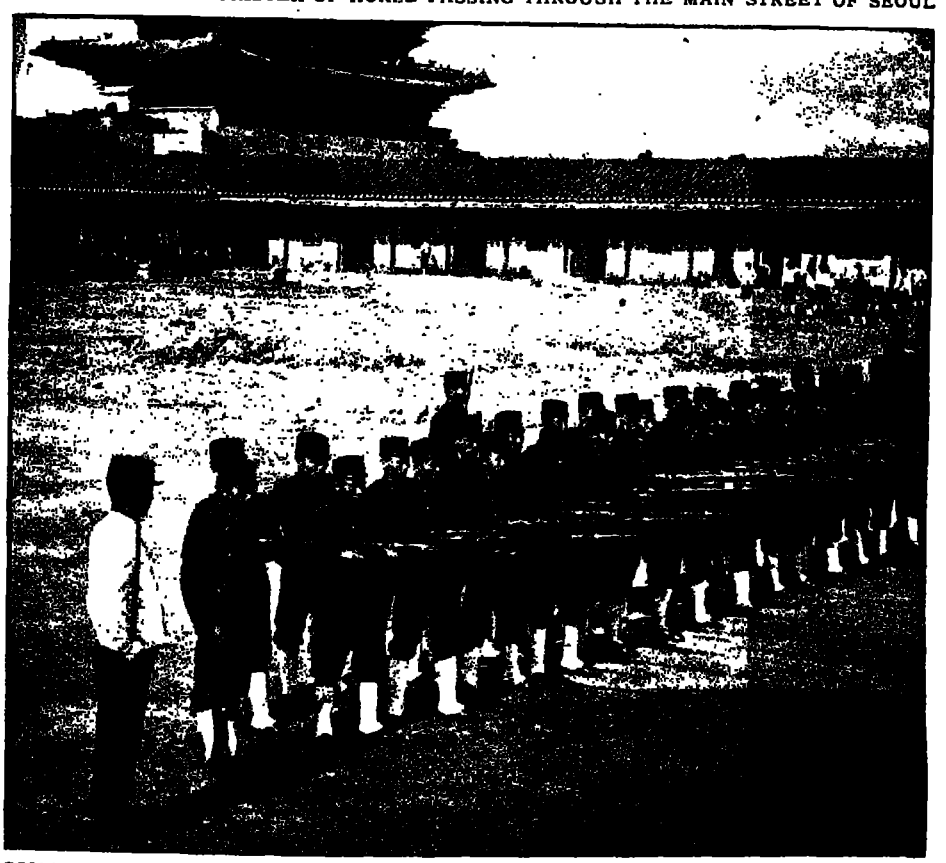
With the dawn of 1898, the aspect of Russo-Korean intrigues against Mr. McLeavy Brown caused Great Britain to make a naval demonstration in Chemulpo Harbour, whereupon, as the moment had not arrived when the position in Korea could be forced with impunity by Russia, M. Alexieff was made to retire in March, while M. de Speyer was relieved by M. Matunine in April, when the Russo-Korean bank was closed down and the Russian military mission withdrawn. The set-back which the Russian policy in Korea now suffered was further emphasised by the conclusion of the Nishi-Rosen Convention on April 25th, by which Russia and Japan, after recognising the entire independence of Korea and mutually engaging to abstain from all interference in its affairs, pledged themselves to confer with each other before complying with any Korean requests for military or financial assistance. At the same time Russia specifically undertook not to interfere with the development of commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea. As if mindful of what had followed the Waeber-Komura-Lebanoff-Yamagata Convention, Japan induced the Korean Government to proclaim, in June, 1898, the opening of Ma-san-po as a treaty port. The straining of the political situation did not appreciably affect the course of domestic events, which were characterised by singular inconsistencies. Thus, at one and the same time in 1898 an edict was promulgated forbidding the granting of any further concessions, while the organisation of the Seoul Electric Light and Tramway Company, and of the Seoul Waterworks was authorised.

**Public Works in Korea's Capital**

In September Japanese interests were given permission to build the Seoul-Fusan Railway, and in January, 1899, Japanese diplomacy brought about the surrender of the French Seoul-Wiju concession on the ground of the expiration of the time limit within which the project had to be started. Forfeiture, however, was merely nominal; and, as the Russians were anxious to prevent the construction of



EMPEROR'S GRAND MASTER OF HORSE PASSING THROUGH THE MAIN STREET OF SEOUL



COMPANY OF KOREAN SOLDIERS AT DRILL OUTSIDE THE OLD PALACE IN SEOUL

Photos Underwood & Underwood, London



Underwood and Underwood, London

**WAR MINISTER PLAYING CHESS**

**The benign old gentleman on the left playing at So-ban, or Korean chess, was Minister of War at the time of the last Japanese invasion.**

the Seoul-Wiju railway passing into the hands of the Japanese, at the request of the French Minister, M. Colin de Plancy, the concession was not revoked. Later in the year a mission of the Greek Church took up its residence in Seoul, the struggle between the respective interests of Russia and Japan advancing a step when the plans of the foreign quarter, and the regulations controlling the opening of Ma-san-po, were issued at the request of the Japanese.

With the new year, 1900, M. Pavlov, the Russian Acting Minister in Peking, arrived in Seoul, fresh from his diplomatic defeat of Sir Claude Macdonald, when two points immediately claimed his attention—the one referring to the Seoul-Wiju Railway, the other to Ma-san-po. Working in conjunction with the French Minister and Yi Yong Ik, a Korean official, afterwards Minister of Finance, the Korean Government was persuaded to take over the construction of the line, creating for the purpose a North-Western Railway Bureau, of which Yi Yong Ik became president, undertaking that only French engineers and French materials should be employed. In regard to Ma-san-po, M. Pavlov effected, in April 1900, the Russo-Korean Convention, a secret agreement by which it was provided that, while none of the land about Ma-san-po Harbour should be disposed of in any way to any foreign Power, Russia should be permitted to establish a coaling depôt and a special settlement at this treaty port. For two years the terms of this instrument remained undisclosed, while the outbreak of the Boxer crisis in the summer of 1900 put an end for the time being to the diplomatic rivalries of Russia and Japan.

With the opening of the new century, Russia renewed her intrigues against British domination of the Korean Customs. On the



**EMPEROR LEAVING THE NEW PALACE**

**When the Emperor went in procession, his favourites rode veiled from the view of the populace. The new palace was built in one of the poorest parts of Seoul and made a great transformation of the quarter.**



AN IMPERIAL PROCESSION PASSING THROUGH THE STREETS OF SEOUL

Before the formal annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, these quaint imperial processions were common in the capital city. The imperial chair of state was canopied with yellow silk richly tasselled, screened with delicate silken panels of the same colour, and bearing wings to keep off the sun.

plea that Lady Om, the Emperor's principal concubine, required Mr. McLeavy Brown's house, the Chief Commissioner was given, in March, summary notice to leave his private quarters. Fortunately the British Government sharply intervened and the plan miscarried. Foiled in this, Russian diplomacy was successful in another direction, and, in April, 1901, as the five-year penalty clause in respect of M. Brunner's lumber concession had expired, M. Pavlov secured its renewal for a further three years. Meanwhile, Yi Yong Ik had not been idle, and, supported by the Korean Foreign Minister, he made the announcement that a loan of 5,000,000 yen had been arranged between the Korean Government and a French syndicate, the Yunnan Syndicate, upon the security of the Customs. As the terms were preposterous and had been designed without the authority of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. McLeavy Brown declined to sanction the arrangement, in which attitude he was supported by the Ministers of Great Britain and Japan, who strongly opposed anything which might give to France—and therefore Russia—a particular predominance in the affairs of the country. Mr. McLeavy Brown was at once called upon to resign his office by Yi Yong Ik, but the matter dropped before the firm front of the British Minister. By way of reply to this activity of the Russians, the first sods of the Seoul-Fusan Railway were turned, at Yong-tong-po, near Chemulpo, on August 20th, 1901, and at Fusan on September 21st.

**France as Cat's paw of Russia**

The course of events in Korea was now attracting so much general attention that on January 30th, 1902, the momentous announcement was heralded of an offensive-defensive alliance between Great Britain and Japan, with special reference to Korea. Seven weeks later, on March 19th, communication of an additional clause to the Franco-Russian Treaty was made, by which it was no less plain that France would support Russia in the event of Great Britain assisting Japan in any Far Eastern war. External political events were now quite overshadowing the domestic situation in Korea, largely concerned with quarrels between the Extremists and Conservatives, with the Korean currency question, and with the founding of a Japanese bank. In May,

**Britain Supports Japan**



GROUP OF SCHOOLBOYS WITH THEIR TEACHERS



SORCERERS CROWNING A BRIDE, WITH PAINTED FACE



ENTRANCE TO HOME OF A WELL-TO-DO KOREAN OFFICIAL



GENTLEMEN OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE OF THE GOD OF WAR

**FAMILIAR SCENES OF KOREAN LIFE**

Photos Underwood & Underwood, London



A BUDDHIST ABBOT



KOREAN GESANG OR GEISHA



LADY'S STREET COSTUME



LADIES ATTACHED TO THE COURT



FAMILY OF THE ARISTOCRATIC CLASS

TYPES OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE

however, the formal opening of work on the Seoul-Wiju was celebrated. The following month witnessed the arrival in Seoul of Baron Gabriel de Gunsberg, a Russian secret service agent, who opened, in April, 1903, the Seoul offices of the Lumber Company, into which M. Brunner's Yalu concession had now blossomed.

**Korean Lumber Concessions**

During the next two months numerous lumber camps, comprising parties of Cossack, Korean and Chinese lumbermen under Russian protection, were established on the river, while on July 20th an agreement was concluded between officials of the company and Korean frontier officers, by which the whole of the important Yong-an-po district, commanding the mouth of the great Yalu River, was leased to the company.

Government entered into direct telegraphic negotiations with St. Petersburg, the failure of which was disclosed when, on February 9th, 1904, a Japanese squadron under Admiral Uriu sank, in Chemulpo Harbour, two Russian vessels, the cruiser Variag and the gunboat and portguard ship Koreietz.

Six days later the first division of Kuroki's army disembarked at Chemulpo, and was followed a little later by the two remaining divisions and the troops which were to hold the lines of communication and to act as garrison of the peninsula.

From Chemulpo, Kuroki advanced, and the first shots of the land campaign were fired when, on February 28th, a Cossack patrol engaged a Japanese picket at Pyong-yang. A little later, on March 20th, Pyong-yang itself was occupied in



HOW THE KOREAN VILLAGES SUFFERED IN THE JAPANESE INVASION

The village of Sonkyori, burnt during the Chino-Japanese War in 1894, in the course of the battle which bears its name.

Undisturbed by the fact that the attention of the whole world, and of Japan in particular, was now focussed upon the Korean border, Russia proceeded by various devices to make good her position on the Yalu. When the several camps had been equipped with telegraphic communication, provided with defensive works, and the usual conditions of the Russo-Korean frontier had given way manifestly to military occupation, the Japanese Minister at Seoul delivered, on August 25th, 1903, an ultimatum to the Korean Foreign Office against the confirmation of the agreement in respect of Yong-an-po. In spite of the emphatic character of the Japanese protest the activity of the Russian force in the lumber camps in no wise abated, and after the lapse of a few weeks the Japanese force, and the coastal base changed from Chemulpo to Chi-nam-po. Skirmishes were now frequent, and at Anju, as at Chong-ju on March 28th, there were encounters, while on April 6th, the van of the Japanese advance occupied Wiju, Korean soil ceasing to be belligerent territory when, between April 29th and May 1st, Kuroki forced the passage of the Yalu.

**Victorious Advance of Kuroki**

The first act of the Japanese Government after the declaration of war against Russia on February 10th was to arrange a protocol with Korea. It was dated February 23rd, and comprised six articles. Briefly it may be said to have guaranteed the independence as well as the territorial integrity of the kingdom; and, after promising to ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial House, to have conferred

upon Japan the responsibility of securing administrative reforms and providing for the protection of the kingdom. As a mandate from Korea, this instrument gave to Japan a free hand. While satisfaction was expressed at the prospects of Korea, there were many who found a disquieting element in the liberty exercised by Japanese subjects in various parts of the country. As the months passed without any perceptible improvement in administrative conditions, the announcement, on June 17th, 1904, that a concession of waste lands in the kingdom had been made to a Japanese subject, Mr. Nagamori, without payment and for a term of fifty years, gave rise to such a loud and long-sustained national protest that the obnoxious measure was withdrawn.



JAPANESE MARTIAL LAW IN KOREA

Three Koreans shot for pulling up rails as a protest against the seizure of land without payment by Japanese, who had obtained the concession from the Emperor.

A few weeks later, on August 22nd, Japan, still concerned with the necessity for reform, concluded a further treaty with Korea by which the financial affairs of the Government were placed in the hands of a Japanese adviser, and a foreigner, recommended by Japan, became adviser to the Foreign Office. Further, the Japanese Government was to be consulted before the Korean Government entered into any diplomatic relations with foreign Powers, granted any concessions, or allotted any contracts to foreign subjects. In spite of the control over Korean affairs granted to Japan by this Convention, general recognition of the Japanese position was not obtained from the Powers until the Treaty of Portsmouth, August 29th, 1905, put an end to the Russo-Japanese War. By this treaty the Russian Government acknowledged that Japan possessed in Korea paramount political, military, and economic interests, and engaged neither to obstruct nor to interfere with the measures of guidance, protection, and control which the Government of Japan might find it necessary to take. Less than a month later, on September 27th, a new Anglo-Japanese treaty was published, by which, so long as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations was not impaired, Great Britain similarly recognised the special position acquired and held by the Japanese in Korea.



THE JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION OF KOREA

This photographic reproduction gives a grim picture of the summary methods adopted by the Japanese officials in disposing of the inmates of a Korean gaol.

Fortified by the action of Great Britain, Japan now proceeded to secure the assent of the Emperor of Korea to the establishment of a Japanese protectorate over his kingdom. With this purpose in view, the Japanese Government despatched the Marquis Ito to Seoul, and on November 15th this statesman besought the Emperor's consent to the abolition of the Korean Department of Foreign Affairs in favour of a specially created Advisory Council, which was to sit at Tokio, to the installation of the Japanese Minister at Seoul as General Superintendent of Korea, and the Japanese Consuls as Superintendents. As his Majesty did not agree with these demands, three days later, after the exercise of considerable pressure and the display of armed force, the Marquis Ito compelled the Korean Cabinet to accept a treaty by which Korea was deprived of its independence, while the future control of its diplomatic, consular and domestic affairs was entrusted to the direction of the Japanese Government. At the same time, the Marquis Ito was appointed Resident-General to the Court of Korea, Residents were stationed at all the treaty ports and elsewhere throughout the country, and the Japanese Government undertook to maintain the dignity and welfare of the Imperial House.

**A Japanese Protectorate**



KOREAN VILLAGE DEVIL POSTS

On the right is "Great General of Underground"; on the left his spouse. They are supposed by the superstitious Koreans to keep the evil spirits out of the village



THE SLEEPING GUARDIAN OF SEOUL

This stone tortoise is supposed to guard the Korean capital. The people rebelled against the electric cars on the plea that their noise would awaken the sleeping tortoise.

While the Japanese Government lost no time in proclaiming to the Great Powers the establishment of a Japanese protectorate over Korea, an instructive light was thrown upon the methods by which the treaty had been extracted when the Emperor of Korea issued, in an Imperial letter, on January 29th, 1906, an emphatic and explicit denial of the right of the Japanese Government to make such an announcement, and invited the Great Powers to exercise a joint protectorate over his empire for a period not exceeding five years.

As the Russo-Japanese War had made the Japanese Government the sole arbiter of the destinies of Korea, his Majesty's action was of no avail. Equally ineffective protests continued to be made in the provinces; and while scenes of anarchy were reported in various centres, six high officials committed suicide in the capital, where the Emperor, as the result of the publication of the Imperial letter, was practically a prisoner in his own palace. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Japanese Government pushed forward the conversion of Korea into a Japanese protectorate. Since all departments of government were under her control, one of the earliest measures was to replace the services of any foreigner

**Repressive Measures of Japan**

employed by the Korean Government by those of Japanese, the Chief Commissioner of Customs, Mr. McLeavy Brown, being among the first to retire. Similarly, the greater part of the Korean Army was disbanded, the palace police gave way to Japanese, and thousands of Japanese settlers were brought into the country.

**Ineffectual Protest to the Powers**

In spite of these indications of the futility of further resistance, the Emperor of Korea decided upon a last protest to the Powers. Influenced by the impression that the treaty of November 18th, 1905, was invalidated by the character of the measures by which it was extracted, early in the spring of 1905 his Majesty despatched Prince Yong-i Yi on a mission of appeal to the Hague Conference.

Arriving on July 16th, the appearance of the envoys was the signal for immediate action on the part of the Japanese Government, and on July 19th the Emperor was deposed in favour of the Crown Prince, while on July 26th, 1907, a final treaty was arranged. By this instrument the authority of the Japanese Resident-General in Korea was recognised as supreme, various restrictive measures were imposed upon the Korean Government, and the immediate introduction of a number of reforms indicated. A few days later sentence of death was passed upon Prince Yong-i Yi, with which expression of vengeance Japan signalled her complete conquest of reactionary and anti-Japanese influences in the Hermit Kingdom.

Having established her authority over Korea, formal annexation followed five years later. In 1910 Korea became a province of the Japanese Empire, its name was changed to Cho-sen, and General Count Terauchi was appointed Governor-General. Although the treaties concluded between Korea and other countries became void on the annexation, Japan agreed that for a period of ten years there should be no interference in any way with the commercial rights enjoyed by foreigners in the peninsula, and that no change should be made in the Korean tariff to the advantage of Japan during that period.

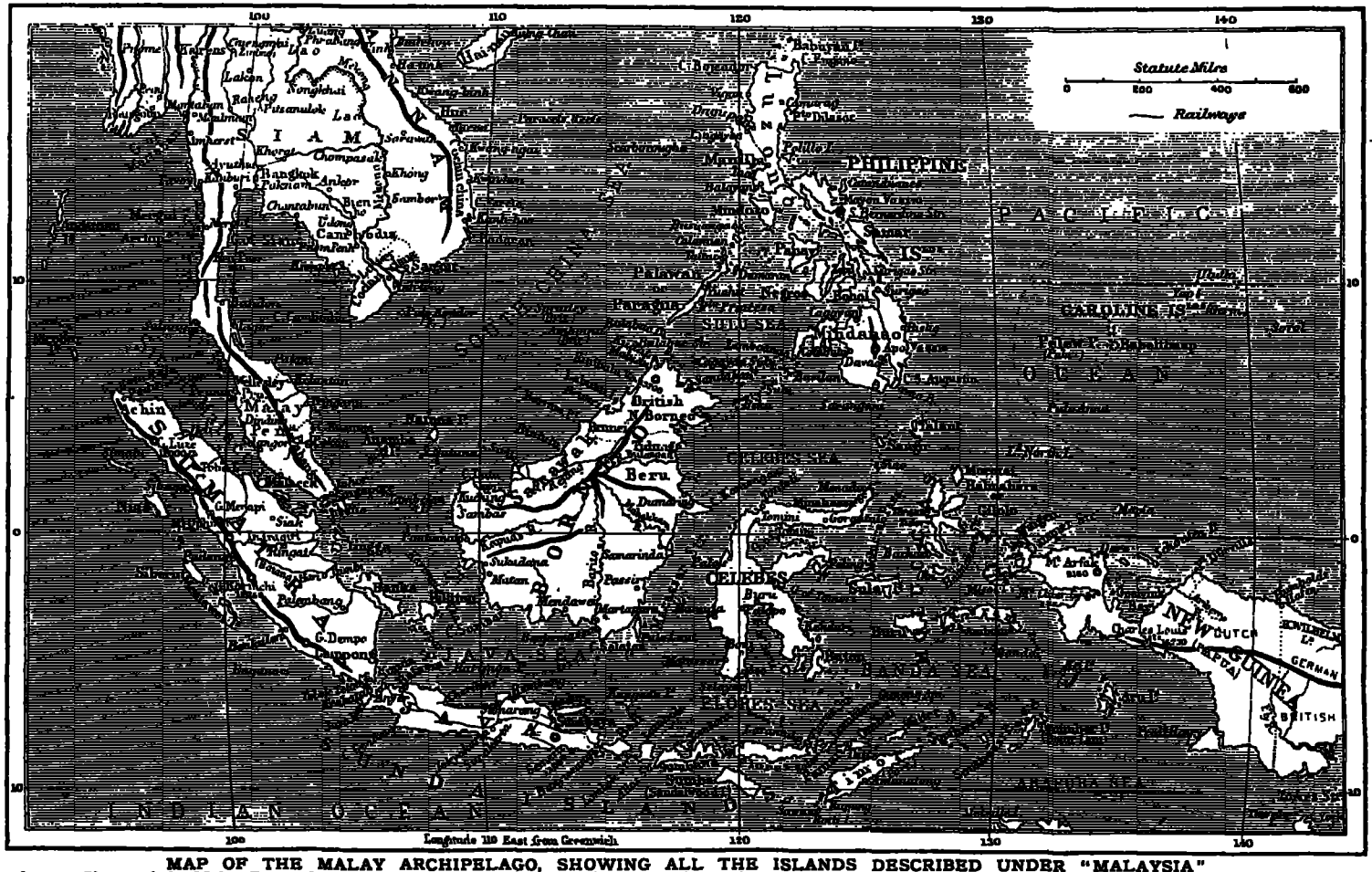
The Japanese Government also gave an undertaking that British owners of land and mines in Korea should in no respects be at a disadvantage owing to the annexation.

In recent years the Christian missions in Korea have achieved very considerable success, and the movement towards Christianity is now strong and firmly established. At Seoul, the capital, a considerable amount of educational work is also being accomplished. Railways to the extent of 836 miles are in working order, and the property of the Japanese Government. Other lines are in construction. The cultivation of rice, millet, cotton, hemp, and tobacco remains the chief industry of the people, but gold mining is being carried on by Americans, and on concessions granted to British, Japanese, German, and Russian subjects. Manufactures are still in a somewhat primitive and backward state.

**Japan Absorbs Korea**

## GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF KOREA

| B.C. | | A.D. | | A.D. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1122 | Korea divided into three kingdoms. Ki-tze dynasty in Chosen | 1686 | Introduction of Christianity | 1885 | Korean convention between Japan and China |
| 108 | Korea broken up by the Chinese | 1792 | Episcopate of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Peking extended over Korea | 1894 | China sends troops to Korea to establish order. Japan occupies Chemulpo |
| A.D. | | 1840 | Persecution of Christians | 1895 | Japanese ascendency secured by treaty of Shimonoseki |
| 384 | Buddhism introduced | 1849 | Toleration under Chul Thong | 1896 | Russo-Japanese agreement |
| 913 | Unification of Korea under Wang the Founder | 1863 | Accession of Heui Yi | 1902 | Korean agreement between Japan and Great Britain |
| | Chinese suzerainty recognised | 1866 | Massacres of Christians and clergy | 1904 | Russo-Japanese war |
| 1230 | Submission of Korea to the Mongols | | French punitory expedition | 1905 | Japan recognised as paramount by Treaty of Portsmouth |
| 1392 | Yi-ta-jo establishes his dynasty | 1875 | Collision with Japan. Japanese settlement | 1907 | Japan assumes a more definite control |
| 1592 | Invasion of Japanese under Hideyoshi | 1882 | Attack on the Japanese | 1910 | Korea formally annexed to Japan and named "Cho-sen" |
| 1627 | Manchu invasion | 1884 | Korea opened to foreign intercourse | | |




**MAP OF THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO, SHOWING ALL THE ISLANDS DESCRIBED UNDER "MALAYSIA"**

Annam, Siam and the Malay Peninsula are dealt with in "Further India," and New Guinea in "Australia." The heavy black lines in the map represent mountain ranges




# MALAYSIA

## THE ISLAND WORLD OF THE EASTERN SEAS

## RACES OF PRIMITIVE CULTURE

MALAYSIA is the general designation of the largest group of islands in the world; it stretches out in front of Asia to the south-east, forming the stepping-stone to the mainland of Australia on the one side, and to the Melanesian archipelagoes and the island-realm of Oceania on the other. It is known also as Indonesia, or the Indian Archipelago. The numerous members of the group include some of the most gigantic islands on the globe, with mountain ranges and navigable rivers, as well as diminutive islets, which hardly supply the sparsest population with the necessaries of life; we find, as we go toward the east, the first traces of Australian dryness and desolation as well as regions of tropical luxuriance and splendid fertility. The term Malaysia is also extended to the Malay Peninsula, but its restricted use is adopted for convenience in these pages.

**Extremes of Natural Conditions**

For a long period there was no idea of any general name for all these islands and island groups, least of all among the natives themselves, who often have hardly recognised the larger islands as connected territories. Their narrow horizon, on the other hand, has completely prevented them from realising the sharp contrast which exists between their own island homes, with extensive and deeply indented coast lines, and the neighbouring continents, of which only a small part is in contact with the sea. At least they have never thought of emphasising such a distinction by collective names. The geographers of Europe, having the whole picture of the world before their eyes, were the first to mark out the two large groups of the Sunda Islands and the Philippines. The title Malaysia, of course, emphasises the purely ethnological point of view, meaning the region inhabited by that peculiar brown, straight-haired race, to which we give the name Malayan, recognised from very early times as a distinct type of mankind.

One member of the ethnological group, however, Madagascar, belongs geographically so clearly to Africa that it is treated in connection with that continent, instead of being included in the present section.

The Indian island world belongs as a whole to the tropics, and in its chief parts to the moist and warm tropical plains. Highlands, which are of incalculable importance for the culture of tropical countries, as the ancient history of America in particular shows, are found to any appreciable extent only in Sumatra, although there is no lack of mountain ranges and lofty volcanic cones on the other islands.

**Physical Features of the Islands**

If we recall the doctrine of Oskar Peschel that the oldest civilised countries lay nearer the tropics than those of modern times, and that, therefore, the chief zones of civilisation have withdrawn toward the Poles, it can at least be conjectured that a region so favourably situated as Malaysia was not always of

such trifling importance in the history of mankind as it is at present. We need not picture to ourselves a primitive highly developed culture, but one which, after reaching a certain level at an early period, remained stationary and was outstripped by the civilisation of other regions. The Dyak in Central Borneo has reached, it is certain, no high grade of civilisation, but a comparison with the reindeer-hunters of the European Ice Age would certainly be to his advantage. The entire ethnological development of the country, and the influence which it once asserted over wide regions of the world, prove that at a remote period a comparatively noteworthy civilisation was actually attained in the Malay Archipelago.

**Primitive Malaysian Civilisation**

Malaysia, notwithstanding its place as a connecting link between Asia and Australia, occupies from the view of ethnology an outlying position. It is true that culture could radiate outwards from it in almost every direction; on the other hand, this region has been affected almost exclusively by movements from the north and west, from Asia, that is, and later from Europe, but hardly at all from Australia and Polynesia. These conditions find their true expression in the old racial displacements of the Malay Archipelago. The drawbacks of this geographical situation are almost balanced by the extraordinarily favourable position for purposes of intercourse which the Malay islands enjoy—a position in its kind unrivalled throughout the world.

The two greatest civilised regions of the world—the Indo-European on the one side, the East-Asiatic on the other—could come into close communication only by the route round the south-east extremity of Asia, since the Mongolian deserts constituted an almost insuperable barrier; but there in the south-east the island-world of Indonesia offered its harbours and the riches of its soil to the seafarers wearied by the long voyage, and invited them to exchange wares and lay the foundation for prosperous trading towns. This commercial intercourse has never died away since the time when it was first started; only the nations who maintained it have changed. The present culture of the Archipelago has grown up under the influence of this constant intercourse; but the oldest conditions, which are so important for the history of mankind, have nowhere been left unimpaired. We need not commit the blunder of taking the rude forest tribes of Borneo or Mindanao for surviving types of the ancient civilisation of Malaysia. The bold seamen who steered their vessels to Easter Island and Madagascar were assuredly of another stock than these degenerate denizens of the steamy primeval forests.

**Culture Induced by Commerce**

It is difficult to give a short sketch of Malayan history because justifiable doubts may arise as to the correct method of statement. First, we have to deal with an insular and much divided region; and, secondly, a large, indeed the greater part of the historical events were produced and defined by external influences. The history of Malaysia is what we might expect from the insular nature of the region; it splits up into a narrative of numerous local developments, of which the most important at all events require to be treated and estimated separately. But, on the other hand, waves of migration and civilising influences once more flood all the island-world and bring unity into the whole region by ending the natural isolation of the groups. And yet this unity is only apparent; for even if new immigrants gain a footing on the coasts of the larger islands, and foreign civilisations strike root in the maritime towns, the tribes in the interior resist the swelling tide and preserve in hostile defiance their individuality, protected now by the mountainous nature of their homes, now by the fever-haunted forests of the valleys in which they seek asylum.

**The Struggle for Individuality**

Since there no longer exists any doubt that man inhabited the earth even at the beginning of the Drift Epoch, and since the opinion might be ventured that his first appearance falls into the Tertiary Age, it is no longer possible to deduce in a childlike fashion the primitive conditions of mankind from the present state of the world, and to look for its oldest home in one of the countries still existing. Least of all must we hazard hasty conclusions when we are dealing with a part of the earth so manifestly the scene of the most tremendous shocks and transformations, and so rent and shattered by volcanic agencies, as Malaysia. In quite recent times, also, the discovery of some bones at Trinil in Java by Dr. Eugene Dubois, which Othniel Charles Marsh

ascribes to a link between man and the anthropoid apes, caused a profound sensation in the scientific world and stimulated the search, in Malaysia itself, for the region where man first raised himself to his present position from a lower stage of existence. However this question may be answered, it is meanwhile calculated to discourage any discussion of origins; it especially helps us to reject those views which unhesitatingly look for the home of all Malayan nationalities on the continent of Asia, and from this standpoint build up a fanciful foundation for Malayan history. The linguistic conditions warn us against this misconception. On the mainland of Southern Asia we find monosyllabic languages; but in the island region they are polysyllabic. There is thus a fundamental distinction between the two groups.

Two main races are represented in the Malay Archipelago, which in the number of their branches and in their distribution are extraordinarily divergent. They show in their reciprocal relations the unmistakable result of ancient historical occurrences. These are the brown, straight-haired Malays—in the wider sense—and the dark-skinned Negritos, who owe their name to their resemblance to the negro. Since the whole manner in which the Negritos are at present scattered over the islands points to a retrogression, there will always be an inclination to regard them, when compared with the Malays, as the more ancient inhabitants of at least certain parts of the Archipelago.

**The Two Races of Malaysia**

These Negritos form a link in the chain of those equatorial dark-skinned peoples who occupy most part of Africa, Southern India, Melanesia, and Australia, and almost everywhere, as compared with lighter-skinned races, exhibit a retrogression which certainly did not begin in modern times, and suggests the conclusion that the homes of these dark racial elements were once more extensive than they are to-day. It is doubtful, indeed, whether we are justified in assuming these negroid races to be closely connected, or whether, on the contrary, several really independent branches of the dark-skinned type of mankind are represented among them. One point is, however, established; the Negritos of the Malay Archipelago, by their geographical distribution, and still more by their physical characteristics, are most closely allied to the Papuans, who inhabit New Guinea and the Melanesian groups of islands.

It follows that the Papuan race once extended further to the west, and was worsted in the struggle with the Malay element. According to one view, even the dark-skinned inhabitants of Madagascar would be closely akin to the Melanesians

**Evolution of Races in Malaysia**

The Negritos are in no respect pure Papuans; not only are they often so mixed with Malay tribes that their individuality has disappeared except for a few remnants, but many indications point to the fact that there have been frequent crossings with tribes of short stature, whose relation to the Papuans may perhaps be compared with that of the African pigmies to the genuine negroes. These dwarf races cannot in any way be brought into line with the other dark peoples. Kinsfolk of the low-statured race, which has mixed with the Negritos or perhaps formed their foundation, exist on the peninsula of Malacca—especially in its northern part, on the Andamans, and in Ceylon. There were also, in all probability, representatives of this dwarf race to be found on the larger Sunda Islands, and in East Asia.

At any rate, it is a fact that some of the eastern islands of the Malay Archipelago, particularly the Philippines, still contain dark tribes, although, in consequence of numerous admixtures and the small numbers of these petty nations, their existence has often been doubted. Karl Semper describes the Negritos, or Antes, of the Philippines, as low-statured men, of a dark, copper-brown complexion, with flat noses and woolly black-brown hair. Where they have preserved to some degree their purity of race, they are a characteristic type, easily distinguishable from the members of the Malay race. There appear to be hardly any Negritos on the Sunda Islands proper. But in the south, on Timor, Floris, the Moluccas and Celebes, more or less distinct traces point to an admixture of a dark-skinned race with the Malay population. The same fact seems to be shown on Java. Where the Negritos are more differentiated from the others—on the Philippines especially—they usually live in the inaccessible interior of the islands, far from

**Physical Character of Negritos**

the more densely peopled coasts, and avoid the civilisation that prevails there. It is sufficiently clear that these conditions point to a retrogression and displacement of the Negritos; but it is difficult to arrive at any certainty on these points.

The Papuan strain, which is so often to be found in the vicinity of the dwarf race may be traced to an immigration from Melanesia, which has had its parallels even in quite modern times. The Papuans of Western New Guinea, who were bold navigators and robbers, penetrated to the coasts of the eastern Sunda Islands, and planted settlements there; or possibly they immigrated to those parts as involuntary colonists, having been defeated and carried away by the Malays in their punitive expeditions. On the whole the relation of the Papuan to the Malayan civilisation is very remarkable. An explanation of it is much needed, and would prove of extreme value for the history of both races. The Papuan has not merely been receptive of Malay influences, but has also, to some slight extent, created and diffused an independent and self-developed civilisation.

## THE WANDERINGS OF THE MALAYS

ALTHOUGH a certain migratory impulse which is innate in the Papuan has caused considerable migrations of the race, yet these are completely overshadowed by the wanderings of the Malay peoples, which are distinctly the most extensive known to the earlier history of mankind; the more so because the Malays, not content with spreading over a continent, took to the sea as well, and thus became a connecting link between the four quarters of the globe.

**What is Meant by "Malays"**

The expression "Malays," since it is used sometimes in a narrower, sometimes in a wider sense, has given rise to many misunderstandings and unprofitable disputes. The source of the confusion lies in the circumstance that the name of the people which at the period of the European voyages of discovery seemed most vigorously engaged in war and trade has been given to the whole ethnological group, of which it formed only a single, though characteristic, part. This group, for whose accepted name it is difficult to find a substitute, is a branch of the human race easily distinguishable from its neighbours and admirably adapted to the nature of its home; its homogeneity is further attested by the affinity of the languages which are spoken by its various branches.

We may assume that it was originally an amalgamation of various primitive races. In the islands, as in Northern Asia, long-skulled (dolichocephalic) peoples appear to have spread first, but soon to have received an admixture of short-skulled (brachycephalic) immigrants.

It is an idle question to ask for the original home of these two component parts of the Malay race, in face of the incontestable fact that the kernel of the Malay nationality occupies at present, as it has occupied since early times, the island world of Melanesia; on the other hand, comparatively small fragments of the stock, with a larger proportion of mixed peoples of partly Malay, partly Mongol, elements, are found on the continent of Asia. In this sense the region we are now surveying is the cradle of the Malay race as a separate group of mankind: it was the starting-point of those marvellous migrations which it is our immediate intention to examine more closely. The larger islands within the Malay island world have exercised an isolating and warping influence on the inhabitants, and thus have produced nations as peculiar as the Battaks on Sumatra, the Dyaks on Borneo, and the Tagales on the Philippines; but this fact must not shake our conviction that, taken as a whole, the Malay race, as we call it, is a comparatively definite idea. The later infusions of Indian and Chinese blood, which are now frequently observable, do not concern the earliest periods.

**The Common Factor**

At first sight, it ought not to be a difficult task to describe the culture of those racial elements which migrated from Malaysia in various directions. Among the descendants of the emigrants there are many tribes, especially in Oceania, which have found little opportunity on solitary islands to acquire new wealth of civilisation, and therefore may have preserved the old conditions in some degree of purity. It must also be possible even at the present day to determine, by the simple process of sifting and comparing the civilisations of the different branches which have differentiated themselves from the primitive stock, what was the original

inheritance which all these had in common with one another.

But the conditions are by no means so simple. Quite apart from the possible continuance of changes and further developments in remote regions, we must take into account the losses of culture which are almost inseparable from extensive migrations. Polynesia in particular is a region where a settlement without such losses is almost inconceivable; the natural conditions are such that it is impossible to maintain some of the arts of civilisation.

If, therefore, at the present day, as we advance towards Oceania, we cross the limits within which a large number of crafts and acquisitions are known; if on the eastern islands of Indonesia iron-smelting ends; if on the Micronesian realm of islands the knowledge of weaving and the circulation of old East Asiatic or European beads, and on Fiji the potter's art, cease, the cause of these phenomena is not immediately clear. It is indeed possible that the inhabitants of Polynesia emigrated from their old homes at a period when smelting, weaving, and the potter's art were still unknown; but it is perhaps more probable that at least one part of the civilisation possessed by the small coral islands of the oceans has been simply forgotten and lost, or finds a faint echo in linguistic traces, as the knowledge of iron on Fiji. And, even in the first case, the question may always remain open whether the different branches of knowledge reached their present spheres of extension in the suite of migratory tribes, or whether we may assume a gradual permeation of culture from people to people, which is possible without migrations on a large scale, and may have continued to the present day.

**Migrations of Primitive Islanders**

The most valuable possession which can furnish information as to earlier times is the language, but unfortunately there is still an entire want of investigations which would be directly available for historical inquiry. This much may certainly be settled—that there are no demonstrable traces of Indian or Chinese elements in the Polynesian dialects any more than in those of Madagascar. It is thus at least clear that the great migrations must have taken place before the beginning of our era.

A proof that the islands proper in ancient times possessed a civilisation of their own, nearly independent of external influences, is given by the supply of indigenous plants useful to man which were at the disposal of the inhabitants, even at the period of the migrations. Granted that the cultivation of useful growths was suggested from outside sources, still these suggestions were apparently followed out independently in the islands. Rice, the most valuable cereal of India and South China, is not an ancient possession of the islands' culture, which is acquainted instead with the taro, the yam, and sesame. Among useful trees may be mentioned the bread-fruit palm, and perhaps the coco-nut palm, which are widely diffused, in the Malayo-Polynesian region at any rate. Of useful animals man appears in earlier times to have been acquainted only with the dog, possibly the pig, but not with the ox or the horse. This is again an important fact. Attention is elsewhere called to the probability that the agriculture of the Old World was older than the cattle-breeding industry, which in its developed form was introduced into India only by the Aryans. While, therefore, in ancient times the practice of agriculture may have been brought to the islands from the mainland, the knowledge of cattle-breeding at the beginning of the migration had not reached them by that road. We are not able to settle any fixed date, but these facts at least confirm the view that the years of migration fall in a comparatively early period.

**Fruits and Cereals of Malaysia**

The seamanship of the immigrants and the fact that even in Polynesia they continued to inhabit the coasts and peopled the interior of the islands only sparsely justify the conclusion that the mass of the migratory bands was sent out from typical maritime nations. Java, possibly, which favoured the growth of population by the fertility of its soil, and where prehistoric weapons of polished stone lead us to assume the existence even in early times of a centre of some civilisation, was the chief starting-point for the migrations, which split up into various subdivisions, now hardly distinguishable. For the most part it would not have been a question of enormous journeys, but of an advance from island to island, where the immigrants would have been content first to occupy a part of the coast, and then, in

**Java the Base of Migrations**

the traditional manner, to build up a new system of life by cultivating clearings in the primeval forests, by fishing, and by profitable raids. The arts of shipbuilding and navigation must have reached a comparatively high stage; double canoes and outriggers, which enabled boats to keep out at sea even in bad weather, and to cross wide expanses of water, must have already been invented. Even at the present day the boats of the Polynesians—and of the Melanesians, who are closely connected with them in this respect—are the best which have been made by primitive races; while in the Malay Archipelago the imitation of foreign models has already changed and driven out the old style of shipbuilding. The sail must have been known to the ancient inhabitants, and it is more than probable that they understood how to steer their course by the stars and the movement of the waves, and that they possessed the rudiments of nautical cartography.

The social conditions of the early period certainly encouraged the spirit of adventure. No ethnological group in the world has shown a stronger tendency than the Malays and Polynesians to encourage the system of male associations as distinct from families and clans. The younger men, who usually live and sleep together in a separate bachelors' house, are everywhere organised as a military body, which is often the ruling force in the community, and, in any event, welcomes adventure and dangers in a spirit quite different from families or clans burdened with the anxiety of wives and children. These conditions create a warlike spirit in the people, which regards feuds and raids as the natural course of things, and finds its most tangible expression in head-hunting, a custom peculiar to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. Originating in the habit of erecting the skulls of ancestors as sacred relics in the men's quarter, it has led to a morbid passion for collecting, which provokes continual wars and never allows neighbouring races to remain at peace. Thus there remain even now the traces of a former state of things in which bold tribes of navigators and freebooters were produced.



A CANNIBAL CHIEF OF BORNEO

We are here dealing with such remote ages that there can be no idea of assigning any precise dates to the different migrations; they can therefore be only briefly sketched, in an order which does not imply any necessary chronological sequence.

A first wave of migration flowed to the north. It is, in the first place, very probable that Malay tribes settled in the Philippines at a later period than in the great Sunda Islands, the proper home of true Malay life; but for this nation of skilful seamen it was only a step across from the Philippines to Formosa, where tribes of unmistakably Malay origin are still living. This can hardly have been the ultimate goal. There are numerous traces on the mainland of South China which point to an immigration of Malays. Again, the peculiarity of the Japanese is best explained by an admixture of Malay blood; it is indeed not inconceivable that the political evolution which began in the south was due to the seafaring Malays who first set foot on the southern islands and mixed with the existing inhabitants and with immigrants from Korea. Since this political organisation took place about 660 B.C., the migration might be assigned to a still earlier time. The first migration northward



DYAK WARRIOR





NATIVES OF CERAM



GROUP OF THE COMMON PEOPLE OF BORNEO



SUMATRAN



SULU ISLANDER



JAVANESE HEAD-DRESS



USUAL MALAY HEAD-DRESS

TYPES OF THE NATIVE RACES OF MALAYSIA

was also followed by a subsequent one, which reached at least as far as the Philippines, if not farther.

A second stream of emigrants was directed toward the east. On the Melanesian islands, which since early times were occupied by a dark-skinned race, numerous Malay colonies were founded, which exercised a marked influence on the Melanesians, but were gradually, and to some degree, absorbed. Even the continent of Australia must have received a strong infusion of Malay blood. The Malay migratory spirit found freer scope on the infinite island world of the Pacific, and weighty facts support the view that isolated settlers reached even the shores of North-west America. How those voyages were made and what periods of time they required is not known to us. Only the tradition of New Zealand tells us in semi-mythical fashion how the first immigrants, with their families and gods, took the dangerous voyage from Sawaii and Rarotonga to their new home, in their immense double canoes.

**Migration to the Pacific Islands**

The third ethnological wave swept over the Indian Ocean, and bore westward to Madagascar the first germs of a Malay population; the Arabic "Book of Miracles" relates an expedition of three hundred sails from Wakwak to Madagascar in the year 945 A.D. Possibly even the African coast was reached in this movement, although no permanent settlements were made there

Thus we see that, at least a thousand years ago, the Malay race spread over a region which extends from the shores of America to the mainland of Africa, over almost two-thirds of the circumference of the earth. The Malayo-Polynesians have kept aloof from the continents. The oceans studded with islands are the inheritance of their race, which has had no rival in the command of the seas except the European group of Aryan nations in our own days. If the lessons of comparative philology and ethnology supply all our knowledge of the old migrations, we have, in compensation, another ethnological movement more directly under our eyes, which also began with members of the Malay race, and forms a fitting counterpart to earlier events. The name of Malays did not originally belong to the whole race, but only to one definite people of the Archipelago; and it is this very people which by its migrations in more modern times has reproduced primitive history on a small scale, and thus shown itself worthy to give its name to the whole restless group. Probably, indeed, it was not even the whole stock with which we are at present concerned that bore the name of Malay, but only the most prominent subdivision of it.

**A Race that Avoided Continents**

The original home of this people lay on Sumatra in the district of Menangkabau. The name "Malayu" is applied to the island of Sumatra even by Ptolemy; and in 1150 the Arabian geographer Edrisi mentions an island, Malai, which carried on a brisk trade in spices. Indian civilisation, it would seem, had considerable influence on Menangkabau, for according to the native traditions of the Malays it was Sri Turi Bumana, a prince of Indian or Japanese descent—according to the legend, he traced his lineage to Alexander the Great—who led a part of the people over the sea to the peninsula of Malacca and in 1160 founded the centre of his power in Singapore. The new state is said to have aroused the jealousy of a powerful Javanese realm, presumably Modyopahit, and Singapore was ultimately conquered in the year 1252 by the Javanese.

**Europe's Early Records of Malaysia**

A new Malay capital, Malacca, was subsequently founded on the mainland. In the year 1276 the reigning chief, together with his people, were converted to Islam. The Malays, who had found on the peninsula only timid forest tribes of poor physique, multiplied in course of time so enormously that it became necessary to send out new colonies, and Malay traders and settlers appeared on all the neighbouring coast districts. Toward the close of the thirteenth century the State of Malacca was far more powerful than the old Menangkabau, and became the political and ethnological centre of Malay life. The result was that the true insular Malays apparently spread from the mainland over the island world of the East Indies. The Malay settlers played to some extent the rôle of state builders, especially in Borneo, where Brunei in the north was a genuine Malay state; other states were formed on the west coast. The Malays mixed everywhere with the aborigines, and made their language the common dialect of intercourse for the

Sunda Islands. The Bugi on the Celebes also spread over a wide area from their original homes.

Trifling as all these modern events may be in comparison with those of old times, still they teach us to grasp the conditions prevailing in the past, and to realise the possibility of migrations as comprehensive as those which the Malayo-Polynesians accomplished.

## THE COMING OF THE ASIATICS

THE influences of the voyages and settlements were not so powerful as those foreign forces which were continually at work owing to the favourable position of the islands for purposes of intercourse. Asiatic nations had long sought out the Archipelago, had founded settlements, and had been able occasionally to exercise some political influence. The islands were, indeed, not only half-way houses for communication between Eastern Asia and the west; they themselves offered coveted treasures. First and foremost among these were spices, the staple of the Indian trade; gold and diamonds were found in the mines of Borneo, and there were many other valuable products. The Chinese from East Asia obtained a footing in the Malay Archipelago; from the west came the agents of the East Asiatic commerce—the Hindus first, then the Arabs, and soon after them the first Europeans, the present rulers of the island world.

The Chinese are not a seafaring nation in the correct acceptance of the word. It was only when, after the conquest of South China, they acquired a seaboard with good harbours, and mixed at the same time with the old seafaring population, that a maritime trade with the rich tropical regions of Indonesia (*i.e.*, the Indian islands) began to flourish; only perhaps as a continuation of an older commerce, which had been originated by the northward migration of the Malayan race, and consequently lay in the hands of Malayan tribes. Since South China therefore came into the possession of China in 220 B.C., it must have been subsequent to that time, and probably much later, that the influence of the Chinese was fully felt by the inhabitants of the Archipelago. Permanent connections with Annam can hardly have been established before the Christian era.

**Chinese Influence in Malaysia**

It was not the love of a seafaring life that incited the Chinese to travel, but the commercial instinct, that appeared as soon as other nations commanded the commerce and sought out the Chinese in their own ports. The Chinese fleet then quickly dwindled, the number of voyages lessened, and the merchants of the Celestial Empire found it safer and more convenient to trade with foreigners at home than to entrust their precious lives to the thin planks of a vessel. But the stream of emigration from over-populated China developed independently of these occurrences, and turned by preference, whether in native or foreign ships, toward the East Indian Archipelago, in many countries of which it produced important ethnological changes.

Very contradictory views are entertained about the extent of the oldest Chinese maritime trade, and especially about the question, with which we are not here so much concerned, of the distance which Chinese vessels sailed toward the west. It appears from the annals of the Liang dynasty, reigning in the first half of the sixth century of our era, that the Chinese were already acquainted with some ports on the Malacca Straits which clearly served as marts for the trade between India and the Farther East.

**Early Chinese Traders**

As early as the fifth century commercial relations had been developed with Java, stimulated perhaps by the journeys of the Buddhist missionary Fa-hien, who, driven out of his course by a storm to Java, brought back to China more precise information as to the island. The south of Sumatra also at that time maintained communications with China. The political system of Java was sufficiently well organised to facilitate the establishment of a comparatively secure and profitable trade. From these islands the Chinese obtained precious metals, tortoise-shell, ivory, coco-nuts, and sugar-cane; and the commodities which they offered in return were mainly cotton and silk stuffs.

There are constant allusions to presents sent by island princes, on whom the Chinese Court bestowed high-sounding titles, seals of office, and occasionally diplomatic support. In the year 1129 one such prince received the title of King of Java. Disputes between the settled

Chinese merchants—who plainly showed even thus early a tendency to form state within state—and the Javanese princes led, in later times, to not infrequent interruptions of this commercial intercourse; indeed, after the conquest of China by the Mongols hostile complications were produced. A Mongol-Chinese army invaded Java in the year 1293, after it had secured a strategic base on the island of Billiton, but it was forced to sail away without any tangible results. During the age of the Ming Dynasty, the trade was once more flourishing, and we can even trace some political influence exercised by China. In the years 1405–1407 a Chinese fleet was stationed in the Archipelago; its admiral enforced the submission of a number of chieftains, and brought the ruler of Palembang prisoner to China.

**Chinese Invasion of Java**

The coasts of Borneo, which were touched at on every voyage to and from Java, soon attracted a similar influx of Chinese merchants, to whom the wealth of Borneo in gold and diamonds was no secret. The kingdom of Polo, in the north of the island, which appears in the Chinese annals for the first time in the seventh century, was regularly visited by the Chinese in the tenth century. On the west coast, Puni, whose prince sent an embassy to China for the first time in 977, was a much-frequented town; while Banjermassin, now the most prosperous trading place, is not mentioned until 1368.

As the spread of Islam with its consequences more and more crippled the trade of the Chinese with the Sunda Islands, they turned their attention to a nearer but hitherto much-neglected sphere, the Philippines. There, too, the Malay tribes were carrying on a brisk commerce before the Chinese encroached and established themselves on different points along the coast. This step was taken in the fourteenth century at latest. But then the Chinese trader was already followed by emigrants, who settled in large numbers on the newly-discovered territory, mixed with the aborigines, and in this way, just as in North Borneo, called into life new Chinese-Malay tribes. When, after the interference of the Spaniards, the Chinese traders withdrew or were restricted to definite localities, these mixed tribes remained behind in the country.

**Chinese Emigration to Philippines**

To sum up, it may be said that the Chinese, both here and in Indonesia, exercised a certain amount of political influence, and produced some minor ethnological changes, and that they are even now still working in this latter direction. On the other hand, the intellectual influence of China has not been great, and cannot be compared even remotely with that of the Indians and Arabs. Chinamen and Malays clearly are not in sympathy with each other. At the present day a large share of the trade of the Archipelago once more lies in Chinese hands, the immigration has enormously increased, and the "yellow peril" is nowhere so noticeable as there. But the Malayan must not, in any way, be called for this reason an offshoot of Chinese civilisation. The Chinaman shares with the European the fate of exercising little influence on the intellectual life of the Malay. The cause in both cases is the same; both races appeared first and foremost as traders and rulers, but kindled no flame of religious zeal. The Chinaman failed because he was indifferent to all religious questions; the European failed because Islam, with its greater power of enlisting followers, prevented Christianity, on which it had stolen a long march, from exerting any influence. It is possible that in earlier times the Chinese helped Buddhism to victory in the islands, but at present we possess no certain information on the subject.

**Why Chinese Influence Failed**

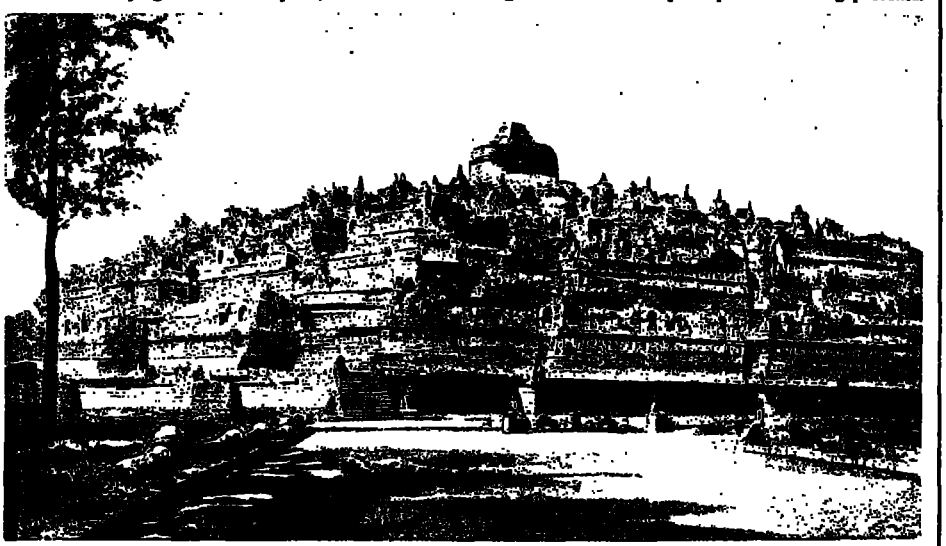
The inhabitants of India have influenced their insular neighbours quite differently from the Chinese. They brought to them, together with an advanced civilisation, a new religion, or rather two religions, which were destined to strike root side by side in the Archipelago—Brahmanism and Buddhism. The Hindus and the other inhabitants of India, who have gained their civilisation from them, are as little devoted to seafaring as the Chinese, for the coasts of India are comparatively poor in good harbours. Probably the first to cross the Bay of Bengal were the sea-loving inhabitants of the Sunda Islands themselves, who, first as bold pirates like the Norwegian Vikings, ravaged the coasts, but also sowed the first seeds of commerce. But after this the inhabitants of the coasts of Nearer India, who hitherto had kept up a brisk intercourse only with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, found something very



The finest of the numerous bas-reliefs in the famous temple of Boro-Budur. Women are shown carrying vessels at a pond, where lotus flowers grow and birds disport.



Bas-relief, showing a prince receiving presents.



General view of the immense temple of Boro-Budur, in Java.



Bas-relief, showing a sea-storm on one side, and a royal couple, with a child, handing gifts to certain of the mariners, who have evidently reached the shore. This is the lowest in a general scheme of four panels.

TEMPLE OF BORO-BUDUR, IN JAVA, THE FINEST EXISTING BUDDHIST MONUMENT

attractive in the intercourse with the islands, which first induced some enterprising merchants to sail thither with their store of spices, until at last an organised and profitable trade was opened. Many centuries, however, must needs have passed before the spiritual influence of Indian culture really made itself felt. Since the Hindu has as little taste for recording history as the Malay, the beginning of the intercourse between the two groups of peoples can be settled only by indirect evidence. The two articles of trade peculiar to the islands, and in earlier times procurable from no other source, were the clove and the nutmeg. The first appearance of these products on the Western markets must, accordingly, give an indication of the latest date at which the intercourse of Nearer India with the Malay Archipelago can have been systematically developed. Both these spices were named among the articles imported to Alexandria for the first time in the age of Marcus Aurelius—that is to say, about 180 A.D.; while, a century earlier, the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea" does not mention them.

**Influence of India on Malaysia**

If, then, we reflect that a certain time would have been required to familiarise the natives of India with these spices before there was any idea of shipping them further, and that perhaps on the first trading voyages, necessarily directed toward the Straits of Malacca, products of that region and of more distant parts of the Archipelago had been exchanged, we are justified in placing the beginnings of the Indian-Malay trade in the first century of our chronology. This theory is supported by the mention in the "Periplus" of voyages by the inhabitants of India to the "Golden Chersonese," by which is probably meant the peninsula of Malacca. Chinese accounts lead us to suppose that at this time Indian merchants had even reached the south coast of China. At a later period more detailed accounts of the islands reached the Græco-Roman world. Even before cloves and nutmegs appeared in the trade-lists of Alexandria, Ptolemy, the geographer, had already inserted on his map of the world the names "Malayu" and "Java." Various other facts point to the position of the island of Java as the centre of the island civilisation, and the emporium for the commerce which some centuries later was destined to allure even the ponderous junks of the Chinese to a voyage along their coasts.

**Java the Centre of Early Trade**

Following in the tracks of the merchants, and perhaps themselves condescending to do a stroke of business, Indian priests gradually came to the islands and won reputation and importance there. India itself, however, at the beginning of the Christian era, was not a united country from the religious point of view. Buddhism, like an invading torrent, had destroyed the old Brahma creed, had shattered the caste system, and had then sent out its missionaries to achieve splendid success in almost all the surrounding countries.

But it had not been able to overthrow the old religion of the land; Brahmanism once more asserted itself with an inexhaustible vitality. At the present day Buddhism has virtually disappeared in its first home, while the old creed has again obtained an almost exclusive dominion. The growth of Hindu influence in the islands falls in the transition period when the two forms of religion existed side by side, and the religious disputes with India are not without importance for this outpost of Indian culture. Buddhists and Brahmans come on the scene side by side, often avowedly as rivals, although it remains doubtful whether the schism led to any warlike complications. The fortunes of the two sects in the Malay Archipelago are remarkably like those of their co-religionists in India. In the former region Buddhism was temporarily victorious, and left its mark on the most glorious epoch of Javanese history; but Brahmanism showed greater vitality, and has not even yet been entirely quenched, while the Buddhist faith speaks to us only from the gigantic ruins of its temples.

**Importation of Hindu Religions**

The thought is suggested that the Brahman and the Buddhist Hindus came from different parts of the peninsula. James Fergusson conjectured the home of the Buddhist immigrants to be in Gujerat and at the mouth of the Indus, and that of the Brahman to be in Telingana and at the mouth of the Kistna, or Krishna. The architecture of the Indian temples on Java, and the language of the Sanscrit inscriptions found there, lend colour to this view. We may mention, however, that recently it has been asserted by H. Kern and J. Groneman, great authorities on Buddhism, that the celebrated

temples of Boro-Budur must have been erected (850–900) by followers of the southern Buddhists, whose sect, for example, predominated on South Sumatra in the kingdom of Sri-Bhodja. Brahmans and Buddhists certainly did not appear contemporaneously in Java.

The most ancient temples were certainly not erected by Buddhists, but by worshippers of Vishnu in the fifth century A.D. Some inscriptions found in West Java, which may also be ascribed to followers of Vishnu, date from the same century. The Chinese Buddhist Fa-hien, who visited the island about this time, mentions the Hindus, but does not appear to have found any members of his own faith there. According to this view the Indians of the Coromandel coast would have first established commercial relations with the islands; it was only later that they were followed by the inhabitants of the north-west coast of India, who, being also connected with the civilised countries of the West, gave a great stimulus to trade, and became the leading spirits of the Indian colony in Java. This, then, explains the later predominance of Buddhism in the Malay Archipelago. In the eighth century A.D. the immigration of the Hindus, including in their number many Buddhists, seems to have increased in Java to an extraordinary extent. The construction of a Buddhist temple at Kalasan in the year 779 is recorded in inscriptions. The victory of Indian civilisation was then confirmed; the rulers turned with enthusiasm to the new forms of belief, and spent their accumulated riches in the erection of vast temples modelled upon those of India. From Java, which was then the political centre of the Archipelago, the culture and religion of the Hindus spread to the neighbouring islands, to Sumatra, South Borneo, and other parts of the Archipelago. The most easterly points where Buddhism achieved any results were the island of Ternate and the islet of Tobi, north-east of Halmahera, which already formed a stepping-stone to Micronesia. At that time Pali was the language of the educated classes. The Indian systems of writing stimulated the creation of native scripts even among those tribes which, like the Battaks in the interior of Sumatra, were but slightly affected in other respects by the wave of civilisation. The influence of India subsequently diminished. In the fifteenth century it once more revived, a fact that may certainly be connected with the political condition of Java. Since Buddhism had at this time almost disappeared in Nearer India, this revival implies also a strengthening of the Brahman doctrine, which had survived, therefore, the fall of the Indian civilisation. In the meantime the victorious successors to Hinduism, the Islamitic Arabs, had appeared upon the scene. The Arabian trade to Egypt and India had flourished before the time of Mohammed, had received the products of the Archipelago from the hands of the Indian merchants, and had transmitted them to the civilised peoples of the West. It is possible that Arabian traders may have early reached Java without gaining any influence there. It was Islam which first stamped the wanderings of the Arabs with their peculiar character; it changed harmless traders into the teachers of a new doctrine, whose simplicity stood in happy contrast to the elaborate theology of the Hindus, and to the degenerate form of Buddhism which could have retained little of its original purity in the Malay Archipelago.

**Reason of Buddhist Supremacy**

**The Coming of Islam**

The new duties which his religion now imposed on the Arabian merchant inspired him with a fresh spirit of adventure, and with a boldness that did not shrink from crossing the Indian Ocean. The rise of the Caliphate, which drew to itself all the wealth of the Orient, secured to the bold mariners and traders a market for their wares and handsome profits. Bushira then attained prosperity, and was the point from which those daring voyages were made whose fame is re-echoed in the marvellous adventures of Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights. Oman, on the Persian Gulf, became an important emporium, but even the older ports in Southern Arabia competed with their new rivals, and still retained the trade at least with Egypt. The voyages of the Arabs at the time of the Caliphate form the first stage in the connections between the Archipelago and the world of Islam, which seem at first to have been of a purely commercial character. The enterprising spirit of the Arabian merchants soon led them, after once the first steps had been taken, beyond the Malay Archipelago to the coasts of China,

**Arabian Merchants in Malaysia**

which, in the year 850, were already connected with Oman in the Persian Gulf by a flourishing maritime trade. This, however, necessitated the growth of stations for the transit trade in the Archipelago itself, where Arabian traders permanently settled and, as we can easily understand, endeavoured to win supporters for Islam. Even then conversions on a large scale might have resulted had not the overthrow of the Caliphate gradually caused an extraordinary decline in the Arabian trade, and consequently in the influence of the Arabs throughout the islands.

**Decline of Arabian Trade**

A new stimulus was given to the intercourse between the states of Islam and the Malay Archipelago when, at the time of the Crusades, the Mohammedan world regained its power, and the dominion of the Saracens flourished, about 1200 A.D. Nevertheless, Islam appears to have achieved little success at that time in the islands, apart possibly from the conversion of Mohammed Shah, a Malay prince resident in Malacca. This event, however, which, according to a somewhat untrustworthy account, occurred in 1276, was of great importance for the future, since the Malays in the narrower sense became the most zealous Mohammedans of the Archipelago. The third great revival of trade, produced by the prosperity of the Turkish and Egyptian empires in the fourteenth century, prepared the way for the victory of the new doctrine, which was permanently decided by the acquisition of Java. The first unsuccessful attempt at a Mohammedan movement on Java took place in 1328; a second, equally futile, was made in 1391. But little by little the continuous exertions of the Arabian merchants, who soon found ready helpers among the natives, and had won sympathisers in the Malays of Malacca, prepared the ground for the final victory of the Mohammedan doctrine. The Brahmans, whose religion, as now appeared, had struck no deep roots among the people, offered a feeble and ineffectual resistance to the new creed. The fall of the kingdom of Modyopahit, which had been the refuge of the Indian religious party, completely destroyed Brahmanism in Java in the year 1478.

## THE EUROPEANS IN MALAYSIA

VICTORY cheered the missionaries of Islam at the end. A few decades later the first Europeans appeared in the Archipelago. They, indeed, were fated to win the political supremacy, but their spiritual influence was not equal to that of Islam.

The Portuguese admiral, Diego Lopez de Sequeira, and his men, when they appeared in the year 1509 on the coast of Sumatra, were certainly not the first navigators of European race to set foot on the shores of the Malay Islands. Many a bold trader may have pushed his way thus far in earlier times; and the first traveller in whom the European spirit of exploration and strength of purpose were embodied, the great Venetian, Marco Polo, had visited the islands in the year 1295, and reached home safely after a prosperous voyage. No brisk intercourse with Europe could be maintained, however, until a successful attempt had been made, in 1497–1498, to circumnavigate the southern extremity of Africa, and thus to discover the direct sea route to the East Indies. After that, the region was soon opened up.

The first expedition under Sequeira with difficulty escaped annihilation, as it was attacked, by order of the native prince, while anchoring in the harbour of Malacca. In any case the governor, Alfonso d'Albuquerque, when he was on his way to Malacca, in 1511, had a splendid excuse to hand for adopting a vigorous policy and plundering the Malay merchantmen as he passed. Since the Sultan of Malacca offered no satisfactory indemnity, war was declared with him; the town was captured after a hard fight, and was made into a strong base for the Portuguese power. Albuquerque then attempted to establish communications with Java, and made preparations to enter into closer relations with the Spice Islands in the East, the Moluccas. After his departure repeated efforts were made to recover Malacca from the Portuguese, but the fort held out.

The Portuguese had followed on the tracks of the Arabs as far as Malacca, the crossing point of the Indian and East Asiatic trade, and they naturally cherished the dream of advancing to China, and thus securing the trade with that country. A fleet under Fernao Perez d'Andrade sailed in the year 1516 from Malacca, and, after an unsuccessful preliminary attempt, reached Canton in 1517. Communications

**Portuguese Adventures in Malaysia**

with the Moluccas had already been formed in 1512 through the efforts of Francisco Serrao; and, since the Portuguese interfered in the disputes of the natives, the commander of their squadron, Antonio de Brito, soon succeeded in acquiring influence there, and in founding a fort on Ternate in 1522. They were unpleasantly disturbed in their plans by the small Spanish squadron of Ferdinand Magellan, who had himself been killed on Matan on April 27th; this fleet, after crossing the Pacific, appeared on November 8th, 1521, off Tidor, and tried to enforce the claims of the King of Spain to the Moluccas.

Generally speaking, it was clear, even then, that the Portuguese could not possibly be in a position to make full use of the enormous tract of newly discovered territory, or even to colonise it. There was never any idea of a real conquest even of the coast districts. A large part of the available forces must have been employed in holding Malacca and keeping the small Malay predatory states in check, while the wars with China made further demands. The Malay prince of Bintang, in particular, with his large fleet, continually threatened the Portuguese possessions on the Strait of Malacca, and after 1523 caused great distress in the colony, until his capital was destroyed in 1527. The position of the Portuguese on the Moluccas was also far from secure, since the state of Tidor, which was friendly to Spain, showed intense hostility. Commercial relations had been established since 1522 with the state of Sunda in Western Java, but the permission to plant a settlement in the country itself was refused. On Sumatra, where Menangkabau was visited by the Portuguese as early as 1514, some petty states recognised the suzerainty of Portugal; Achin, on the contrary, was able to assert its independence, while attempts to establish intercourse with Borneo were not made until 1530.



AN EARLY PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR
Alfonso d'Albuquerque, explorer, navigator, and Governor of the Portuguese East Indies, who plundered the Malays in 1511.

In the same year new disturbances broke out in the Moluccas, since the encroachments of the Portuguese commanders, who had taken the King of Ternate prisoner, had incensed the subjects of this ally. When the new commander-in-chief, Gonzalo Pereira, to crown all, declared that the clove trade was the monopoly of the Portuguese Government, the indignation was so intense that the queen ordered him to be murdered, and the lives of the other Portuguese were in the greatest jeopardy. Peace was restored with the utmost difficulty. Fresh disorders were due to that corrupt mob of adventurers who ruled the islands in the name of the King of Portugal, abandoned themselves to the most licentious excesses, and undermined their own authority by dissensions among themselves. The governor, Tristao de Taide, brought matters to such a pitch that all the princes of the Moluccas combined against him (1533); his successor, Antonio Galvao, at last ended the war with considerable good fortune, and restored the prestige of Portugal on the Spice Islands. His administration certainly marked the most prosperous epoch of Portuguese rule in those parts. Later, the struggles began again, and finally, in 1580, led to the evacuation of Ternate by the Portuguese and their settlement in Tidor.

Thus the influence of the Portuguese was restricted to parts of the Moluccas and some places on the Strait of Malacca. The Archipelago was in most respects only the thoroughfare for the Chino-Japanese trade, which at first developed with as much promise as the East Asiatic missions. The principal station of the trade continued to be Malacca, notwithstanding its dangerous position between states of Malay pirates and the powerful Achin on Sumatra.

The history of Spanish colonisation in the Malay Archipelago is almost entirely bound up with the history of the Philippines, and is treated of in that section.



THE TOWN OF BANTAM IN THE DAYS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

The Portuguese rule in the Archipelago was as brief as in India. At the end of the sixteenth century the two nations which were destined to enter on the rich inheritance, the Dutch and the English, began their first attempts at commerce and colonisation in the Indian waters. The Dutch in particular, through their war with Spain, which crippled the hitherto prosperous trade with the American colonies, were compelled to seek new fields for their activity. Their eyes were turned to India, where Portugal, weakened rather than strengthened by the union with Spain (1580), tried in vain to enforce its influence over a vast tract of territory. Even without at once becoming hostile competitors to Portuguese trade, the Dutch merchants might hope to discover virgin lands, whose exploitation promised rich gains.

**Commercial Rivalry in the 16th Century**

The first Dutch fleet set sail from the Texel on April 2nd, 1595, under the command of Cornelis de Houtmans, a rough adventurer, and anchored on June 2nd, 1596, off Bantam, the chief trading port of Java. This expedition did little to secure the friendship of the natives, owing to the bad qualities of the commander; but at least it paved the way for further enterprise. In the course of a few years a number of small trading companies arose, which succeeded only in interfering with each other and causing mutual ruin, until they were finally combined, through the co-operation of Oldenbarneveld and Prince Maurice, on March 20th, 1602, into a large company, the "Universal Dutch United East India Company." This company soon obtained possessions in the Malay Archipelago, and after 1632 exercised full sovereign sway over its territory.

The company founded a permanent settlement in Bantam, whose prince made friendly overtures, and they took over the already existing trading enterprises in Ternate, Amboina, and Banda, the existence of which proves incidentally that even the Dutch had at once tried to win their share of the spice trade. Disputes in consequence arose on the Moluccas in 1603, when the natives, exasperated by the oppression of the Portuguese and Spaniards, took the side of the Dutch. The undertakings of the company were, however, first put on a systematic basis in the year 1609, when the office of a governor-general was created, at whose side the "Council of India" was placed, and thus a sort of independent government was established in the Archipelago.

The Spaniards now suffered a complete defeat. And when in their place the English appeared and entered into serious competition with the company, they found themselves confronted by the Governor-General, Jan Pieterszon Coen, a man who, competent to face all dangers, finally consolidated the supremacy of the Dutch. The English tried in vain to acquire influence on Java by the help of the Sultan of Bantam. Coen defeated his opponents,

**Rivalry of English and Dutch**

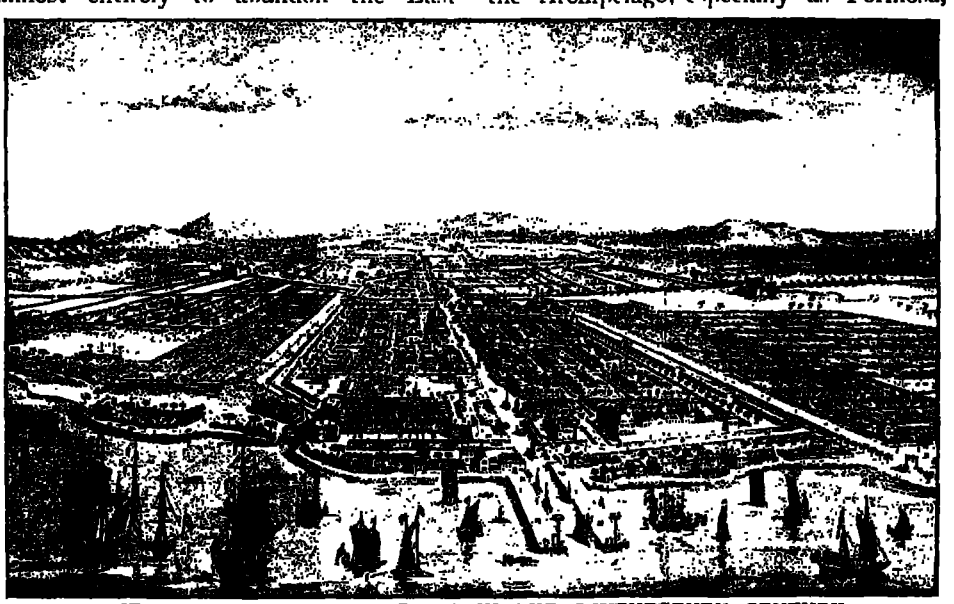
removed the Dutch settlements to Jacatra, where he founded in the year 1619 the future centre of Dutch power, Batavia, and compelled Bantam, whose trade was thus greatly damaged, to listen to terms. "We have set foot on Java and acquired power in the country." Coen wrote to the directors of the company; "see and reflect what bold courage can achieve!" To his chagrin the Dutch Government, from considerations of European policy, determined to admit the English again to the Archipelago. This proceeding led to numerous complications, and finally to the massacre of a number of Englishmen, on the pretext that they had tried to capture the Dutch ports on Amboina. Coen's whole energies were required to hold Batavia, which was besieged in 1628 by the Javanese. His death, which occurred in that same year, was a heavy blow to the Dutch power.



**FOUNDER OF DUTCH POWER IN THE EAST**
Jan Pieterszon Coen, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, from 1618 to 1628, and founder of Batavia.

The influence of the company, however, was now sufficiently assured to withstand slight shocks. The Portuguese had been little by little driven back and forced almost entirely to abandon the East Asiatic trade. The English found a field for their activity in India, and the Spaniards retained the Philippines, but were compelled in 1663 definitely to waive all claim to the Moluccas. Java and the Spice Islands were the bases of the Dutch power, which reached its greatest prosperity under the Governor-General, Anton van Diemen (1636–1645). Malacca was then conquered, a friendly understanding was established with the princes of Java, and Batavia was enlarged and fortified in every way. Soon afterward the sea route to the East Indies was secured by the founding of one station at the Cape of Good Hope and another on Mauritius. But in this connection the huckstering spirit of the trading company was unpleasantly shown in the regulations which were passed for the maintenance of the spice monopoly in the Moluccas, and were fraught with the most lamentable consequences for the native population.

Greater attention was now gradually paid to the hitherto neglected islands of the Archipelago, especially as Formosa,



**THE CAPITAL CITY OF BATAVIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**
The headquarters of Dutch power in the East, founded by Coen in the year 1619, and then called Jacatra.

captured in 1624, was in 1662 lost to the Chinese. The attempts to set foot on Borneo met at first with little success; on the other hand, factories were founded on different points of the coast of Sumatra, and in the year 1667 the Prince of Macassar on Celebes was conquered and compelled to conclude a treaty to the advantage of the company. In Java the influence of the Dutch continually increased; Bantam was humbled in 1684, and the final withdrawal of the English from Java was the result. But even in later times there were many severe struggles.

**British Withdrawal from Java**

Like almost all the great sovereign trading companies of the age of discovery, the Dutch East India Company enjoyed but a short period of prosperity. The old spirit of enterprise died away; a niggardly pettiness spread more and more, and produced a demoralising effect on the servants of the company, although their dangerous posts and the tropical climate must have served as an excuse in any case for numerous excesses. In 1731 the Governor-General, Diederick Durven, had to be recalled, after barely two years of office, on account of unparalleled misconduct; but the state of things did not improve appreciably even after his departure. The misgovernment weighed most heavily on the Chinese merchants and workmen who were settled in the towns. At last, in Java, this part of the population, which was essentially untrustworthy and had always been aiming at political influence, was driven into open revolt. Since the Chinese rendered the vicinity of Batavia insecure, the citizens armed themselves, and at the order of the Governor-General, Adrian Valckenier, massacred all the Chinese in the town in October, 1740. But it was only after a long series of fights that the insurgents, who had formed an alliance with Javanese princes, were completely defeated, and the opportunity was seized of once more extending the territory of the company.



**A CELEBRATED DUTCH GOVERNOR**

**Anton van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1636-45) when Dutch power was at its zenith.**

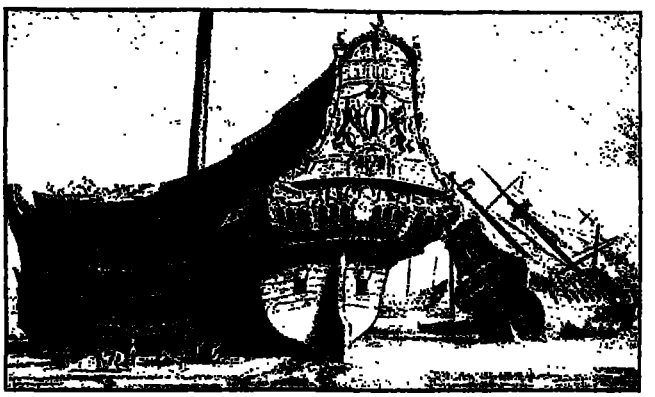
The strength of the company was based on its jealously-guarded trade monopoly. A blow directed at that was necessarily keenly felt. It was observed in Holland with a justifiable anxiety that the English, whose naval power was now the first in the world, once more directed their activities to the East Indies, and came into competition with the company not only on the mainland but also on Sumatra and the Moluccas, answering all remonstrances with thinly veiled menaces. The moulddering officialism of the Dutch company was totally unable to cope with this fresh energy. While individuals amassed wealth, the income of the company diminished, and all profits on the unceasing wars with Malay pirates and similar costly undertakings had to be sacrificed.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century the States-General were compelled to aid the helpless sovereign company by sending a small fleet of warships. But when the Netherlands, after their transformation into the "Batavian Republic" on January 26th, 1795, were involved in war with England, the fate of the company was sealed; it fell as an indirect victim of the French Revolution. The Cape settlement first went; then Ceylon and all the possessions in India were lost. In 1795, Malacca also fell, and a year later Amboina and Banda were taken. Ternate alone offered any resistance. Java, which for the moment was not attacked by the English, was soon almost the only relic of the once wide realm of the company, which, harassed with debts and enfeebled by the political situation at home, could hold out a few years longer only by desperate means. The company was dissolved in the year 1798, and Holland took over its possessions in 1800.

The change of the Batavian republic on May 26th, 1806, into a kingdom held at the will of Napoleon, and the French occupation of Holland on July 9th, 1801, involved further important consequences for the East Asiatic posses ions. The British took advantage of the propitious moment to become masters of the colonies which had now become French, and in the

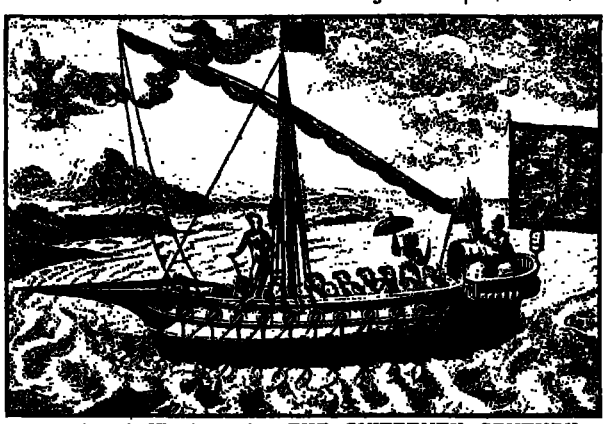
**A Result of Napoleon's Wars**

year 1811, as a final blow, equipped an expedition against Java. Its success was complete; Batavia fell without any resistance, and the small Dutch army, which held out for a short time in the vicinity of the capital, was forced to surrender on September 18th.

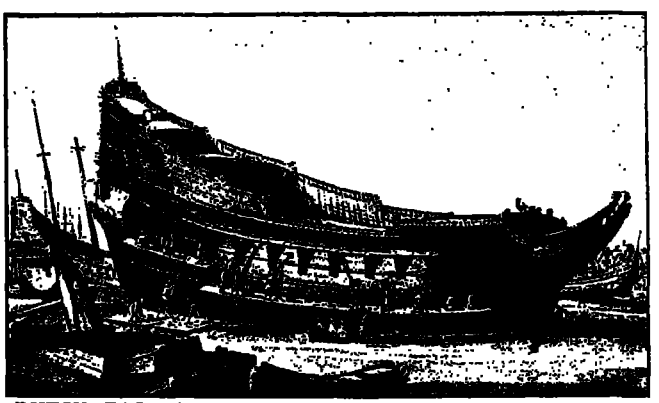


DUTCH EAST INDIAN MERCHANT SHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Great Britain took possession of the Dutch colonies, and proved her loyalty to those great principles which have raised her to be the first maritime and commercial power of the world by abolishing the monopolies and establishing free trade. But the precipitate introduction of these reforms and other injudicious measures soon led to all sorts of conflicts and disorders, which deprived the British Government of any advantage which might otherwise have been gained from their new possession. After the fall of Napoleon, the Netherlands, by the Treaty of London of August 13th, 1814, received back the colonies which had been taken from them, with the exception of the Cape and Ceylon. On June 24th, 1816, the Dutch commissioners at Batavia took over the government from the hands of the British commander. Nevertheless, the British soon afterward struck a severe blow directly at the Dutch colony, by adding to their possessions on Malacca, which had been held since 1786, the island of Singapore, which they acquired by purchase, and by establishing there in a short time a flourishing emporium for world trade. Batavia was the chief loser by this, and its population soon sank to one-half of what it had formerly been.

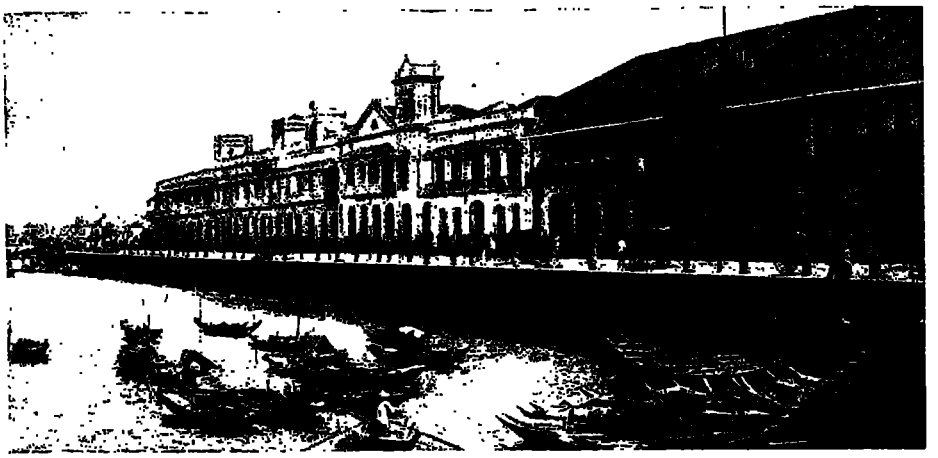


A MALAY VESSEL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

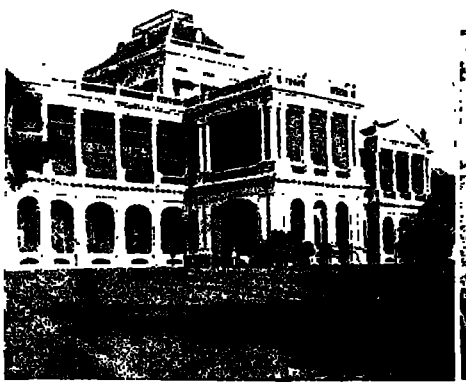


DUTCH EAST INDIAN WARSHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY UNDERGOING REPAIR

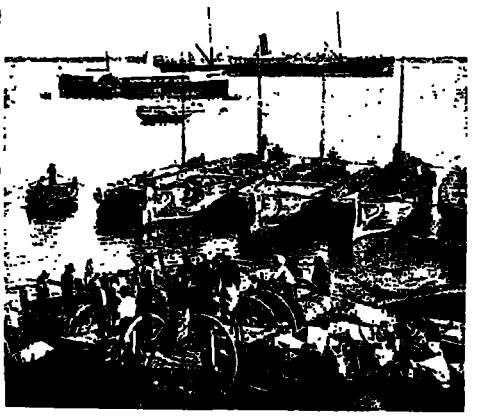
The dissolution of the company, and the British reforms, had broken down the narrow-spirited system of monopolies, and the Dutch Government had no option but to conform to the altered conditions. A small country like Holland, however, could



THE COLLYER QUAY AT SINGAPORE



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SINGAPORE



SCENE FROM PENANG WHARF



ON THE RIVER AT SINGAPORE

GREAT BRITAIN IN MALAYSIA: VIEWS OF SINGAPORE AND PENANG

Photographs by G. Lambert, Singapore, and Underwood & Underwood, London

neither, from economic reasons, adhere to the British system of free rade nor waive all direct national revenue, and in its place await the indirect results of unrestricted commerce; the colonies were compelled not only to support themselves and the colonial army which had now been formed, but also to provide for a surplus. Thus the spice monopoly in the Moluccas, which had been successfully abolished, was reintroduced, though in a somewhat modified and less profitable form than before, since in the interval the cultivation of spices had been introduced into other parts of the tropical world. The bulk of the revenue had to be supplied by the patient population of Java, which, in accordance with a scheme drawn up by the Governor-General, Jan von den Bosch, in 1830, was employed on a large scale in forced labour on Government plantations, and was also burdened by heavy taxes.

**The System of Monopoly Modified**

The Dutch possessions from that time were no longer menaced by foreign enemies; but the colonial army had to suppress many insurrections and conquer new territories for Holland. The Dutch, by slow degrees and in various ways, obtained the undisputed command of the Indian Archipelago. For a long time, in the large islands of Sumatra and Borneo, they exercised only a more or less acknowledged influence on the coasts, while the interior, even at the present day, does not everywhere obey their rule; in any case the coast districts gave them much work to do, as their desperate battles with Achin, or Acheh, prove. The native princes were almost everywhere left in possession of their titles; but on many occasions the Dutch, not reluctantly perhaps, were forced to take different districts under their immediate government The splendid training which their colonial officials received assured them success. A great change in the internal conditions began in the year 1868. The situation of the natives on Java, which had become intolerable—and still more perhaps the knowledge that, in spite of all the forced labour, the profits of the Government plantations did not realise expectations—led to the abolition of the *corvée* and the former unsound and extravagant methods of working. The campaign which the Dutch poet and former colonial official, Eduard Douwes Dekker, had conducted since 1859 against the abuses in the government, contributed to this result, although for a long time no direct effects of his attacks were noticeable. The coffee monopoly, indeed, was left, though somewhat modified; so, too, the principle that the native should be left to work on his own account, and that then the results of his labour should be compulsorily bought from him at a very low price, is still enforced, since the balance of the Indian finances must be maintained. It was possible to abandon the Javanese system of forced labour without excessive loss owing to the fact that the development of tobacco-growing on Sumatra since 1864 and of coffee-growing on Celebes opened up new sources of revenue. Accordingly, in 1873 the antiquated spice monopoly on the Moluccas was finally abolished without inflicting an insupportable blow on the State finances.

The scientific exploration of the region has been begun and carried out in a very thorough fashion. From many points of view the Dutch possessions are models for the colonial administrator; and, in spite of all mistakes, the earlier development shows how a small European people can succeed in ruling an infinitely larger number of unstable Asiatics, and in making them profitable to itself.

**Models for Colonial Administrators**





*THE FOUNDING OF BRITISH POWER IN MALAYSIA*

**In the year 1824 the island of Singapore was ceded to Great Britain by the Sultan of Johor by purchase, and in the hands of the British the town of Singapore speedily became the greatest port in Malaysia and one of the most important of the many centres of British trade in the Eastern seas. The picture, by Mr. Caton Woodville, illustrates the state entry of the British into Singapore in 1824.**

# THE ISLANDS AND THEIR STORY

## JAVA: THE CENTRE OF THE DUTCH INDIES

JAVA is far from being the largest island of the Archipelago, but it is certainly the most fertile, so that it can support a very dense population; it is also the most accessible, and consequently was the first and favourite resort of traders. It is true that culture has been able to take root easily only on the comparatively flat north coast with its abundance of harbours, while the steep south coast, looking out on a sea seldom navigated in old days, has never attained to any importance. The long, narrow island, through which a chain of lofty volcanoes runs, divides into a number of districts, in which independent political constitutions could be developed.

Apart from slight traces of a population resembling the Negritos, Java was originally inhabited by genuine Malays. No reliable early history of the island is forthcoming, since the first records, which are still untrustworthy, date from the Islamitic Age. We are thus compelled to have recourse to the accounts supplied by other nations, and to the remains of buildings and inscriptions which are still to be found plentifully on the island. In any case, Java was the focus of the Archipelago, so far as civilisation was concerned, and to some extent the political centre also, and it has retained this position down to the present day.

**Java the Focus of Malaysia**

Our earliest information about Java can be traced to the Indian traders, who had communication with the island since, perhaps, the beginning of the Christian era. The fact that the Indians turned special attention to Java, which was by no means the nearest island of the Archipelago, must certainly be due to the existence there of rudimentary political societies whose rulers protected the traders, and whose inhabitants had already passed that primitive stage when man had no wants. The Indian merchants, by transplanting their culture to Java, and giving the princes an opportunity to increase their power and wealth through trade, had no small share in the work of political consolidation. We must treat as a mythical incarnation of these influences the Adyi Saka, who stands at the beginning of the native tradition, and is said to have come to Java in 78 A.D., for which reason the Javanese chronology begins with this year. He gave them their culture and religion, organised their constitution, made laws, and introduced writing. The Javanese legend mentions the names of some of the kingdoms influenced by Hindu culture. Mendang Kamulan is said to have become important at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century; in 896 the dynasty of Jangala, and in 1158 that of Pajajaram or Pajadsiran, are said to have succeeded.

**Mythical Legends of Early History**

The first immigrants to Java were worshippers of Vishnu, who were followed later by Buddhists; this fact appears from the inscriptions and ruins and is confirmed by the accounts of the Chinese Fa-hien. The oldest traces of the Hindus have been discovered in West Java, not far from the modern Batavia. There must have been a kingdom in that part, between 400 and 500 A.D., whose monarch was already favourable to the new culture and religion. It is possible that the first Buddhists then appeared on the island and acquired influence. Important inscriptions dating from the beginning of the seventh century tell us of a prince of West Java, Aditya Dharma, an enthusiastic Buddhist and ruler of a kingdom which comprised parts of the neighbouring Sumatra. He conquered a Javanese prince, Siwaraga—whose name leads us to conclude that he was a supporter of the Brahman doctrines—and built a

**Revelations of Ancient Inscriptions**



THE MARKET PLACE IN JAVA, AS EVERYWHERE ELSE, IS THE FAVOURITE RENDEZVOUS

magnificent palace in a part of Java which can no longer be identified. It does not seem to have been any question of a religious war which led to this conflict, but merely of a political feud. We learn from Chinese sources that there was a kingdom of Java to which twenty-eight petty princes owed allegiance, and that in the year 674 a woman, Sima, was on the throne. This kingdom, whose capital lay originally farther to the east, embraced presumably the central parts of the island, and was not therefore identical with that of Aditya Dharma.

Buddhism, at all events, supported by a brisk immigration from India, increased rapidly in power at this time, especially in the central parts of Java, while in the east, and perhaps in the west also, Brahmanism held its own. In the eighth and ninth centuries there were flourishing Buddhist kingdoms, whose power and splendour may be conjectured from the magnificent architectural remains—above all, the ruins of temples in the centre of the island—and from numerous inscriptions. The fact that in the year 813 negro slaves from Zanzibar were sent by Java, as a present to the Chinese Court, shows the extent of Javanese commerce of that time. If we may judge of the importance of the states by the remains of the temples, the kingdom of Boro-Budur must have surpassed all others, until it fell, probably at the close of the tenth century. After the first quarter of that century hardly any more temples or inscriptions seem to have been erected in Central Java, a significant sign of the complete decay of the national forces. With this, the golden age of Buddhism came to an end.



Underwood & Underwood, London

NATIVES OF EASTERN JAVA

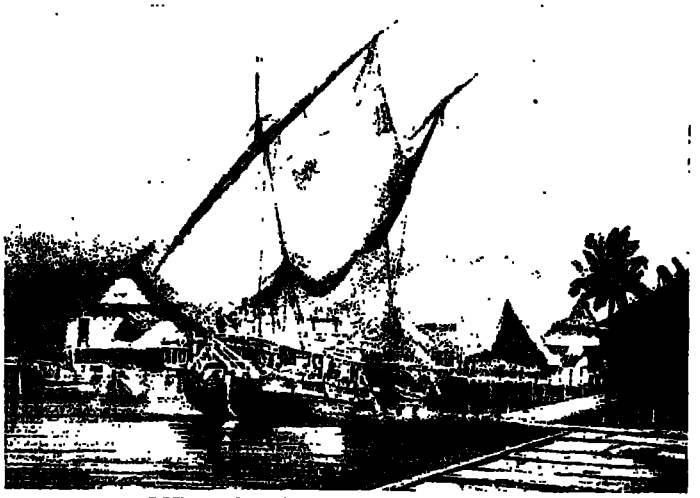
At the same time the centre of gravity of political power shifted to the east of the island. Inscriptions of the eleventh century tell of a king, Er-langa, whose hereditary realm must have lain in the region of the present Surabaya. By successful campaigns he brought a large part of Java under his rule, and seems to have stood at the zenith of his power in the year 1035. His purely Malay name proves that the dynasty from which he sprung was of native origin. He was, however, thoroughly imbued with Indian culture, as may be concluded from the increase of Sanscrit inscriptions in East Java after the beginning of the eleventh century. A Chinese account leads us to conjecture that about the same time a kingdom existed in the west of Java which was at war with a state in Southern Sumatra.

**An Early Malay King and Warrior**

The next centuries are somewhat obscure. This may be connected with a certain decline in the trade, and thus in the influence of the civilisation of India: but it is principally due to the division and subdivision of Java into numerous petty states. But, in spite of this want of union, the attempt of the Mongol monarch Kublai Khan to seize Java proved unsuccessful; only a part of the east was laid waste. That side of the island contained among others the states of Pasuruan, Kadiri, and Surabaya, the first of which gradually lost in importance. The states in Central Java apparently sank into insignificance compared with those of the east, this condition of things lasting until the intercourse with Nearer India once more flourished, and the kingdoms of Solo and Semarang began, in consequence, to revive.

Ths new Hinduistic age, in which Brahmanism again became prominent, had, however, a stimulating influence on the East, where the kingdom of Modyopahit rose to be a mighty power. In the west at that time the kingdom of Pajajaram was the foremost power. Javanese records give the year 1221 (according to the Saka reckoning, 1144) as the date of the founding of Modyopahit, or, more correctly, of the preceding kingdom of Tumapel, and name as the first sovereign Ken Arok, or Angrok, who took as king the title Rayasa, and is said to have died in 1247. The kingdom of Modyopahit in the narrower sense was probably not founded before 1278; the first king was Kertarayasa.

Modyopahit is the best known of the earlier Javanese kingdoms, since it lasted almost to the arrival of the Europeans, and an offshoot survived destruction by Islam. A glance at the power of Modyopahit is therefore instructive, since it is typical of the peculiar conditions of the



A SCENE ON THE SOLO RIVER IN JAVA

Malay Archipelago, and all the seafaring population of the states on the coast or on the islands. Modyopahit never made an attempt to subjugate completely the island of Java and change it into a united nation, but it made its power felt on the coasts of the neighbouring islands, just as Sweden for a time ruled the shores of the Baltic without annexing Norway, or as England had long laid claim to the French coasts before Scotland joined hands to make the British realm. We may allude, in passing, to the colonies of Ancient Greece, to Carthage or Oman. In the west of Java a strong kingdom still stood, which for a time reduced Modyopahit to great straits. The advance of Modyopahit was naturally possible only when a large fleet was

**Extension of Javanese Dominion**

available; this is said to have destroyed, in 1252, the Malay capital Singapore.

The kingdom attained its greatest size under the warlike king Ankawijaya, who mounted the throne in 1390, and is said to have subjugated thirty-six petty states. It is certain that the kingdom had possessions on Sumatra and settled Javanese colonists there, also that the south coast of Borneo stood partially under its influence. It is probable that the Javanese, who, as can be proved, settled on the Moluccas, had also gained political power there. The island of Bali in the east of Java formed an integral part of Modyopahit. The kingdom seldom formed a united nation, but it exercised a suzerainty over numerous petty states, which gladly seized every opportunity of regaining independence. A great war between West and East Java, which had no decisive results, broke out in the year 1403, and led to the interference of Chinese troops.

**Zenith of Javanese Empire**

In spite of all the brilliance of the Hindu states, the seeds of corruption had been early sown in them. The immense prosperity of the Arabian people had, centuries before, brought into the country Arab merchants, who ended by permanently settling there, as the merchants of India had already done, and had won converts for Islam in different parts of the Archipelago, chiefly among the Malays on Malacca, but also among the Chinese traders. "The Oriental merchant," says Conrad Leemans, "is a man of quite different stamp from the European. While the latter always endeavours to return to his home, the Oriental prolongs his stay, easily becomes a permanent settler, takes a wife of the country, and has no difficulty in deciding never to revisit his own land. He is assimilated to the native population, and brings into it parts of his language, religion, customs, and habits." It was characteristic of the heroic age of Islam that the Arabian merchants had other aims beyond winning rich profits from trade; they tried to obtain political dominion by means of religious proselytism. Apparently the kingdom of Modyopahit, the bulwark of Hinduism, had early been fixed upon as the goal of their efforts.

**Oriental Immigrants to Java**

The comparatively feeble resistance of the Buddhist and the Brahmin doctrines is partly explained by the fact that both were really comprehended by the higher classes alone, while the people clung to outward forms only. A Chinese annalist at the beginning of the fifteenth century calls the natives of Java downright devil-worshippers; he does not therefore put them on a footing with the Buddhists of China or Further India, so familiar to him. The first victory of Islam was won in the Sumatran possessions of Modyopahit. The new doctrine found converts among the nobles of the kingdom; of these Arya Damar, the governor in Sumatra, and, above all, his son Raden Patah, are mentioned.

The improbable Javanese account of the fall of Modyopahit only leads us to suppose that a revolt of the nobles who had been won over to Islam, probably assisted by female intrigues, cost the reigning monarch, Bromijoyo, his throne in 1478. The Brahmanists, who remained loyal, withdrew to the island of Bali, whence for a long time they commanded a part of the east coast of Java, and, when that was no longer possible, they at least hindered the advance of Islam on Bali. The victory of Islam in Modyopahit soon had its counterparts in the other states of the island. Even in 1552 the ruler of Bantam sought to obtain the protection of the Portuguese against the Mohammedans; but it was too late. When, two years afterward, a Portuguese fleet appeared, the important trading town was in the hands of the Mohammedans. Since the conversions in the several districts of Java took place at different times, and were mostly associated with disturbances, a number of petty states soon arose, of which Pajang and Damak were the most powerful. On the island of Madura, whose destinies were always closely linked with those of Java, there were three independent kingdoms.

**Conflict of the Creeds**

About a hundred years after the triumph of Islam the situation was altered. The princes of Mataram had gradually attained greater and greater power, though their country had originally been only a province of Pajang; in the end they had subjugated most of the east and the centre of the island. In the west, on the contrary, Bantam, now Islamitic, was still the predominant power. The Dutch, after 1596, tried to negotiate an alliance with it, which could not permanently prove advantageous to Bantam. The founding of Batavia and the interference of the English soon led to hostile

complications, but the attempt to expel the Dutch once more from the island did not succeed. The Dutch Trading Company, naturally, also came into conflict with the ambitious kingdom of Mataram. The Sultan, Agong of Mataram, had formed a scheme to subdue the west of Java, and had proposed an alliance to the Dutch; but he found no response from the cautious merchants, and consequently twice, in 1628 and 1629, made an attempt to seize Batavia. After his death, his son Ingologo (1845–1670) concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the company (1646). Since the Dutch did not for a time try to extend their possessions on Java, the peace was one of some duration. Ingologo's successor, the Sultan Amang Kurat, first invoked the help of the Dutch against a Burinese freebooter who had settled in Surabaya. The latter was expelled, and a rebellious prince, Truna Jaya, also succumbed to the attack of the Dutch fleet. The company, in the Treaty of Javara (1677), were well paid by concessions of territory and trading facilities for the help which they had rendered.

**The Dutch Trading Company**

But the complications were not yet ended. Truna Jaya once more drew the sword against the apparently unpopular Amang Kurat, drove him out from his capital, and selected Kadiri as the capital of the kingdom which he had intended to found. But the decision rested with the Dutch, and they were resolved to keep the old dynasty on the throne, for the good reason that the expelled prince was forced to submit to quite different terms from those offered by his victorious rival. They defeated the usurper and placed on the throne the son of Amang Kurat, who had died meanwhile; a small Dutch garrison was left in the capital to protect him.

**The Dutch Preserve a Dynasty**

In the year 1703 the death of the sultan gave rise to violent disputes about the succession. Once more, naturally, Paku Buwono, the candidate who, with the help of the company, suceeded in establishing his claim to the throne, had to show his gratitude by surrenders and concessions of every kind (1705). The disputes, however, still lasted. Henceforth the sultans of Mataram could hold the sceptre and avert the fall of their feudal sovereignty only by the continuous support of the Dutch. Confusion reached its height when, by the



The Sultan of Jokjakarta in semi-dress.



The Sultan of Solo in full dress.

THE TWO NATIVE RULERS OF JAVA IN 1864

revolt of the Chinese in the year 1740, the power of the company itself was shaken to its foundations. The reigning sultan, as well as the princes of Bantam and Cheribon, encouraged the rebellion, though they feigned devotion to the interests of the company. The result was that the sultan had to consent to fresh concessions after the defeat of the Chinese, and, what was most important, to renounce his sovereignty over the island of Madura. The kingdom of Mataram, after the loss of the coast, became more and more an inland state, and consequently was left helpless against the maritime power of the Dutch. The seat of government was then removed to Solo, or Surakarta.

**Growth of Dutch Power**

But the greater the influence which the company acquired over Mataram, the more it saw itself dragged into the endless rebellions and wars of succession which had now become traditional in that kingdom. From 1749 to 1755 a war raged, which was finally decided by a partition of the kingdom. By treaties in 1755 and 1758, the Sultan Paku Buwono III. received the eastern part, with the capital Surakarta; his rival, Mangku Bumi, the western, with Jokjakarta as chief town; while a third claimant was granted some minor concessions. Besides the two states formed out of the ancient Mataram, there still remained in the west the kingdoms of Bantam and Cheribon, both entirely subject to the company.

Under the conditions thus established the more important disputes were ended; but the maladministration of the company, together with its oppression of the natives, produced their natural result in a series of petty disturbances during which robbery and pillage were carried on without a check. The final collapse of the company, and the chequered fortunes of the Netherlands in 1800, naturally increased the disorders in Java, and the reforms which General Herman Willem Daendels finally carried out in the year 1808 came too late. Britain took possession of the island in 1811, and held it till 1816. At this time the remaining territories of Bantam and Ceribon were taken away, and nothing was left to the two sultans beyond a pension and the empty title. Thus only the Susuhunan of Surakarta and the Sultan of Jokjakarta were left as semi-independent rulers; but both, as a penalty for their resistance to the British, were once more confined to their own territory, and watched by garrisons.

**Collapse of Dutch Trading Company**

With the second occupation of Java by the Dutch a new, but on the whole hardly more prosperous, era opens for the islands. The narrow-spirited monopolies and trading restrictions of the old company were, it is true, not revived, or revived only in a modified form; and since the Government devoted its attention to the widest possible cultivation of useful plants, it not only enlarged its revenue, but promoted the increase of the population and of the general welfare. But all the more heavily did the burden of the *corvée* weigh upon the natives. Insurrections were, therefore, still very frequent; one of them ended with the banishment of the discontented ex-Sultan of Bantam (1832). An earlier rebellion, which broke out in 1825 in Jokjakarta, under the leadership of the illegitimate Prince Dhigo Negoro, against the Governor-General Godard van der Capellen, had been still more dangerous. As had happened in previous cases, the troops of the princes of Madura, who were loyal to the Dutch, lent efficient aid in its suppression. Although this revolt exposed many weak points in the administration of the Dutch Indies, it is only since 1868 that radical changes have been made. The *corvée* was virtually abolished in the case of the natives, and a more equitable system of government introduced. Of late years no events of importance, beyond several volcanic eruptions and a native insurrection in 1888, have to be related.

**The New Régime**

The area of Java, with the adjacent island of Madura, is 50,554 square miles, and the population 30,000,000. The whole of Dutch India is under the administration of a Governor-General—the present officer being J. B. van Heutsz—who has the power of passing laws but who must conform to the constitutional principles laid down in the "Regulations for the Government of Netherlands India." He is assisted by a council of five. The chief towns in Java are Batavia, with a population 138,551 including 8,893 Europeans; Soerabaya, with a population 150,198 including 8,906 Europeans; and Samarang, with a population 96,660 including 4,800 Europeans. The principal agricultural products are rice, maize, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, indigo, cinchona, tea, and cacao. There are also coal and mineral oil industries.




# SUMATRA: THE STEPPING STONE FROM ASIA

SUMATRA, which is far larger than Java, but of a similarly elongated shape, rises in the interior into numerous uplands possessing a comparatively cool climate; the east coast is flatter and more accessible than the west coast, in front of which lies a row of small islands. The political attitude of Sumatra has been determined by its geographical position; it has been connected on the one hand with the Strait of Malacca, on the other with Java. But ethnographically it is a purely Malay country, the place probably from which the ancient migrations to the west started. In the Battaks of the interior a people has been preserved which, although largely impregnated with the results of civilisation, has still retained a considerable share of its original peculiarities, and has resisted the introduction of any religious teaching from without. Sumatra, as might be expected from its position, probably came into contact with India and its culture at a somewhat earlier period than Java, since the rich pepper-growing districts on the Strait of Malacca were the first to create a systematic commerce. It is quite in harmony with these conditions that the districts on the northern extremity, the modern Achin, were the earliest which showed traces of Hindu influence, and, consequently, the beginnings of an organised national life; thence this influence spread farther to the inland region, where signs of it are to be found even at the present day among the Battaks. The older kingdoms of the northern extremity were Poli and Sumatra; the capital of the latter, situated east of Achin, has given its name to the entire island. In Java it was the culture and the religion of the Hindus which made themselves chiefly felt, while the political power remained in the hands of the natives. In North Sumatra, on the contrary, the immigrants from India seemed completely to have assumed the lead in the state, and to have created a feudal kingdom quite in the Indian style. This kingdom, whose capital for many years was Pasir, held at times an extended sway, and comprised a part of the coasts of Sumatra.

**Indian Influence in Sumatra**

While the Indian civilisation thus struck root in the north, and the political organisation of the kingdom of Menangkabau in the central districts was probably also due to its influence, it began indirectly to affect the south, where, according to Chinese accounts, a state had been formed as early as the fifth century. Southern Sumatra, by its geographical position, has always been fated to be in some degree dependent on the populous and powerful Java. In the earliest Hindu period of Java we learn of a prince whose territory lay on both sides of the Sunda Strait. It is possible that the inhabitants of Southern Sumatra enjoyed greater independence afterward, since we have no detailed accounts of the relations between the two islands, except Chinese accounts of wars between West Java and Southern Sumatra in the tenth century. In 1377 Southern Sumatra, whose ruler actually appealed to China for help, was conquered by the Javanese: for a time it belonged to Modyopahit. Palembang was then founded by Javanese colonists. We have already seen how Islam found its first adherents there, and became a menace to the kingdom of Modyopahit.

**Southern Sumatra and Java**

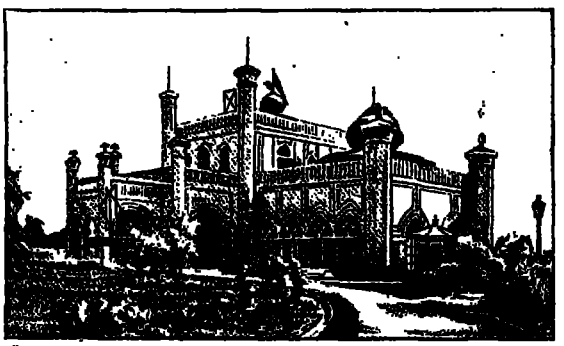


**A NATIVE RULER IN SUMATRA**

The Sultan of Jambi, from a portrait taken in 1880

In the north, also, Islam effected the overthrow of Hinduism. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the first preachers of the new doctrine appeared in the Strait of Malacca, and at first gained influence over the Malays—in

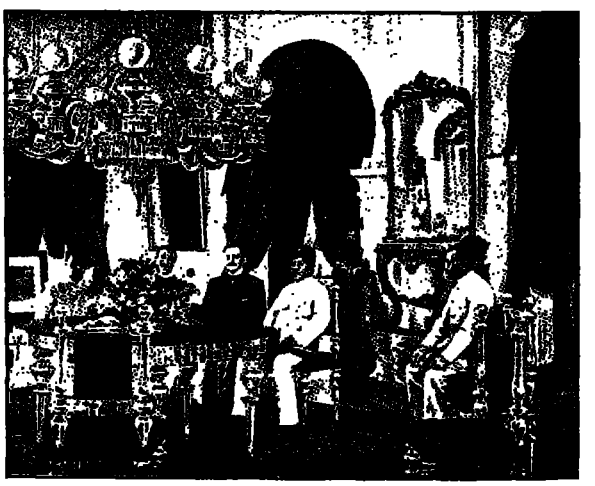
the narrower sense of the word—who came originally from Sumatra and ruled the peninsula of Malacca and the adjacent islands. In Achin itself, on the other hand, they won no success until the beginning of the sixteenth century—later, that is, than in Eastern Java. At any rate, the



PALACE OF THE SULTAN OF SIAK IN SUMATRA

political supremacy of the Hindus seems already to have broken up, and to have given place to native dynasties. Ali Moghayat Shah was, according to a credible tradition, the first Mohammedan sultan of Achin. Ala-ed-din al-Kahar (1530–1552) seems to have completely reorganised the political system; he also conquered a Battak-Hindu kingdom, which continued to resist the new doctrine in the north. In the succeeding period Achin blossomed out into a powerful state, and was naturally soon involved in the wars which raged almost without intermission on the Strait of Malacca between the Portuguese and the Malays. The fleets and armies of Achin repeatedly appeared off Malacca, and made successful attempts to capture the town from the Portuguese.

The Dutch having obtained a foothold in Java, extended their influence from that island over the south of Sumatra, and also in Lampong, which paid tribute to the Javanese kingdom of Bantam. The most important kingdom, Palembang, appears to have enjoyed a short period of independence after the destruction of Modyopahit, but it was conquered by the Geding Souro—who originally came from Demak in Java in the year 1544—and thus received a Javanese dynasty, which reigned until 1649; after that a new line occupied the throne until 1824. A factory was set up in the vicinity of the town of Palembang by the Dutch as early as 1618, and events then took their usual course. After the natives in the year 1662 had attacked the factory and massacred almost the entire garrison, the town of Palembang was destroyed by a Dutch fleet, a favourable commercial treaty was exacted from the intimidated sultan, and this remained in force until 1811. Palembang acquired new interest for the Dutch—who meanwhile had been forced on one occasion to end a civil war by their interference—when in 1710 immensely rich tin mines were discovered on the island of Banka, belonging to that kingdom; the company promptly secured for itself a share of the profits by a separate treaty. The usually friendly relations between the Dutch and Palembang were immediately destroyed when, after the occupation of Java by the British, the whole garrison of the Dutch factory at Palembang was murdered by the sultan's order in a most horrible manner. The British undertook

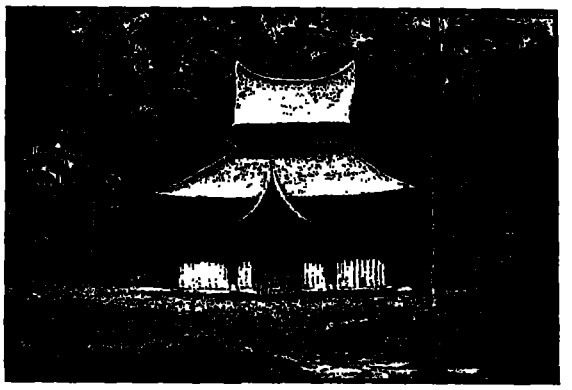


DRAWING-ROOM IN PALACE OF SULTAN OF SIAK

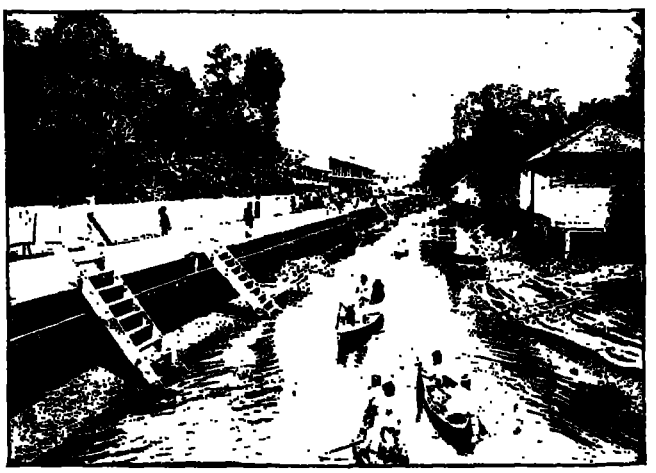
a punitive expedition, but failed to restore order thoroughly; and the Dutch, after the restoration of their East Indian possessions in 1816, were nor more successful, until in 1823 they summarily incorporated Palembang as a province of their colonial empire.

The Dutch, on entering upon the inheritance of the Portuguese. took over

their unfriendly relations with Achin. At first everything seemed to go well. The Dutch turned their attention more to Java and the Moluccas, and contented themselves with concluding a sort of commercial treaty with Achin in the year 1602, and with obtaining the concession of a strip of territory for the establishment of factories; in the meantime, also, owing to internal disorders, the power of Achin had greatly waned. But the keener the interest felt in Sumatra, the clearer it became that the originally despised Achin was a formidable and most invincible antagonist. After the middle of the nineteenth century it became the most dangerous piece on the chessboard of Dutch colonial policy. A dynasty of Arabian stock, whose first ruler, Mahmud Shah, mounted the throne in the year 1760, resolutely resumed the struggle with the Dutch. Achin had, it is true, been recognised as a sovereign state by the Treaty of London on March 17th, 1824; but the fact was gradually made evident that a free Malay state, with its inevitablte encouragement or tolerance of piracy, could no longer be allowed to exist in so dangerous a place as the Strait of Malacca.



HOUSE OF A PADANG CHIEF, SUMATRA



ON THE RIVER AT PALEMBANG, SUMATRA

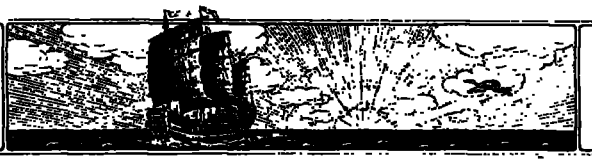
Finally, therefore, in the year 1870, Holland, in return for a promise to resign its possessions in West Africa, received full permission to take any action it wished against Achin. Negotiations with the sultan led to no result. The war, which began on March 25th, 1873, proved unexpectedly difficult and costly. An obstinate resistance was offered by the population on various occasions, and particularly when, on January 24th, 1874, the sultan's palace was stormed by the Dutch under Lieut.-General J. van Swieten. But this difficulty was greatly increased by the unfavourable nature of the scene of operations and the unhealthy climate. It was not until 1879 that the country could be considered subjugated; even then it still required an unusually large garrison, and occasional insurrections continue to show on how uncertain a foundation the Dutch rule in these parts is reared. No other feature in recent events requires to be noted, except the volcanic eruptions and earthquakes of 1883.

The island of Sumatra has an area of 161,612 square miles and an estimated population of 3,168,312, of whom 93,000 are Chinese. The largest town is Palembang with a population of 53,788. The mineral products are gold, petroleum, and coal, and the chief produce consists of tobacco, coffee, rubber, gum, rattan and spices, including pepper and nutmegs. As part of the Dutch East Indies, its administration is in the hands of the Governor-General, who exercises his functions through the agency of subordinate Residents.



THE FIRST BRITISH FOOTHOLD IN BORNEO

**James Brooke, afterwards Rajah Brooke, making his first treaty with the Rajah of Borneo, in 1842.**





# BORNEO: LARGEST OF THE MALAY ISLANDS

BORNEO, the largest island of the Malay Archipelago has not hitherto, in the course of history, attained anything like the importance to which its size should entitle it. A glance at the geographical features of this clumsily shaped island, which is surrounded on almost every side by damp, unhealthy lowlands, will satisfactorily account for this destiny; indeed, Borneo would have probably drawn the notice of maritime nations to itself even less, had not its wealth in gold and diamonds proved so irresistibly alluring. If the physical characteristics of the huge island are unattractive to foreign visitants, they also inspire its inhabitants with little disposition for seafaring, migrations, and commerce. The Dyaks, who are the aborigines of Borneo, are mainly a genuine inland people, which in the course of history has shown little mobility and has tenaciously preserved its ancient customs.

There is no trace of political societies on a large scale in the interior of the island; the coasts alone, washed by the waves of foreign peoples, show the beginnings of national organisations, which from their position are influenced by the other islands of the Archipelago and the chief routes of maritime trade far more than by the land on which they are established. It would, for example, have been a less adventurous journey for an inhabitant of the north coast to visit the ports of China than to penetrate a dozen miles into the interior of his own island, or even to migrate as far as the south coast. Thus, the old tradition, that originally the island was divided into three large kingdoms—Borneo or Brunei, Sukadana, and Banjermassing—is untrustworthy in this form. The south coast of the island was influenced in a remarkable degree by the vicinity of Java. We have not only the remains of buildings and idols, but also literary evidence to prove that the Hindu kingdoms of Java affected, both by conquest and by example, the adjoining parts of Borneo. Modyopahit, in particular, received tribute from the kingdom of Banjermassing and other states on the south coast; even after the fall of the Brahman state the Islam princes of Java kept up this relation for some time. The legends of Borneo point in the same direction when they record that Banjermassing was founded by Lembong Mangkurat, a native of Nearer India, who had immigrated from Java.



SULTAN OF BORNEO IN 1880

At the time of the fall of Modyopahit, Banjermassing was the most powerful state in Borneo. It certainly owed its prominence to the advanced civilisation which, evoked by a large Javanese immigration, was naturally followed by the introduction of Hindu creeds. According to the legend, a son of the royal house of Modyopahit founded in the fourteenth century a Hindu dynasty which reckoned thirteen princes down to Pangeran Samatra, the first Islam ruler; the daughter of Pangeran Samatra was married to a Dyak, who became the founder of a new dynasty. The circumstance that Banjermassing became tributary to the Islam state of Demak on Java, while Sukadana and Landak, the other capitals of the south coast, were subject to Bantam, equally Islamitic, favoured the introduction of the Mohammedan faith, which first struck root in 1600. But all recollection of Modyopahit was not lost; most of the princely families of the south coast traced their descent from its royal house.

The north, on the other hand, was considerably influenced in early times by China; even at the present day pieces of Chinese porcelain, which evidently

reached the island through ancient trading transactions, are highly valued by the Dyaks of the interior. The earliest mentioned kingdoms in Borneo, Polo in the north and Puni on the west coast, may have acquired power from the trade with China; in the fourteenth century, certainly, Puni also was subject to Javanese influence. In addition to the Javanese, the Malays—in the stricter sense of the word—exercised great influence over Borneo, whose coasts in quite early times had become the favourite goal of their voyages and settlements. It was through them that Brunei, the chief state of the north coast, was founded, though the date cannot be accurately fixed; perhaps it was merely a continuation of the old kingdom of Polo. Malay immigrants had probably come to Brunei, even before their conversion to Islam, which took place in the middle of the thirteenth century. Modyopahit also gained a temporary influence over Brunei. When, however, the first Europeans visited the country, it was a powerful and completely independent kingdom, which for a time extended its sway over the Sulu Islands and as far as the Philippines. In the year 1577 the first war with the Spaniards broke out, and further collisions followed later. Other Malay states on the west coast were Pontianak—probably the ancient Puni—Matan, Mongama, and others. Banjermassing, Sukadana, and Landak were also originally founded by Malays, and only subsequently brought under Javanese rule.

From the east the Bugi of Celebes sought new homes on the shores of Borneo, and also founded a number of small kingdoms, whose existence depended originally on trade and piracy. All these immigrations have naturally produced the result that the coast population of Borneo is everywhere an inextricable tangle of the most various racial elements, and that the aboriginal Dyaks have intermixed freely with Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Bugi, and others. Which racial element predominates depends on various contingencies from time to time. In the mining districts of the kingdom of Samba in Western Borneo, for example, Chinese were settled after the second half of the eighteenth century in such large numbers that they were far too strong for the Malay sultan, and were finally suppressed by the Dutch government only in 1854.



**RAJAH BROOKE**
**The venturesome Englishman who founded the British Dependency of Sarawak**



**TYPES OF THE INHABITANTS OF SARAWAK**

The first Europeans who attempted to form connections with Borneo were the Portuguese, after 1521; they met, however, with little success, although they renewed their attempt in 1690. Meanwhile the Dutch East India Company had opened, in the year 1606, a factory in Banjermassing, whose business was to export pepper and gold dust; but, owing to the vacillating and often hostile attitude of the sultan, it was no more successful than the Portuguese settlement, and was finally abandoned, in consequence of the murder of Dutch officials and merchants at Banjermassing in 1638 and 1669. The residence of the sultan, since Banjermassing had been destroyed by the Dutch in 1612, was removed to Martapura, and remained there, although Banjermassing soon rose from its ashes. In 1698 the English appeared upon the scene, and were at first successful, until the destruction of their factory in the year 1707 thoroughly discouraged them from further undertakings. The Sultan of Banjermassing, in spite of his faithless behaviour, was in no way inclined to abandon the advantages of the European trade, but once more turned to the Dutch.

At length, then, in 1733, the Dutch resolved on a new attempt. Since that date, notwithstanding frequent misunderstandings, their relations with the island have been practically unbroken. The interference of the company in a war about the succession to the throne turned the scale and procured for it the sovereignty over Banjermassing; and thus the greater part of the south coast of Borneo, as well as the coveted monopoly of the pepper trade, passed into its hands in 1787. During the occupation of Java by the English the reigning sultan consented to make further concessions, which after January 1st, 1817, benefited the Dutch.

To this period belongs the romantic attempt of an Englishman, William Hare, to found an independent kingdom in South Borneo. The Dutch have considerably extended and consolidated their power by new treaties and by the wars which they fought from 1850 to 1854 on the west coast, as also from 1859 to 1862 on the south-east coast. Banjermassing itself, after the interference of the Dutch in the succession to the throne in 1852 had caused a rebellion, was deprived of its dynasty in 1857 and completely annexed in 1864. A fresh rebellion in 1882 did not alter the position of affairs.

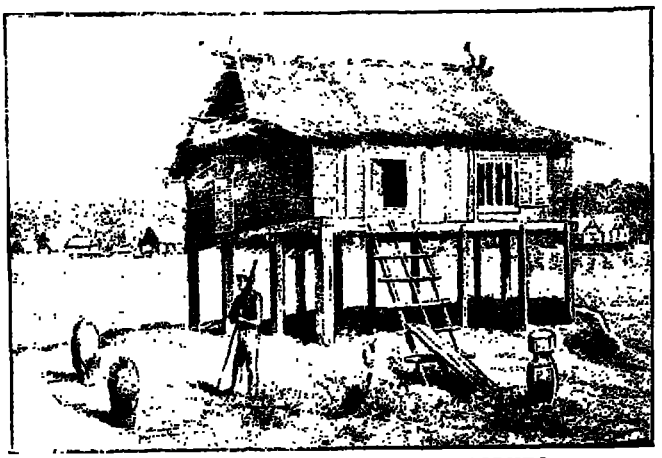
At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sultanate of Brunei had lost much of its power; when, therefore, in the year 1839, an insurrection was raging in the province of Sarawak, the governor gladly accepted the offer of James Brooke, an Englishman, to come to his assistance.



ORIGINAL RESIDENCE OF RAJAH BROOKE AT SARAWAK

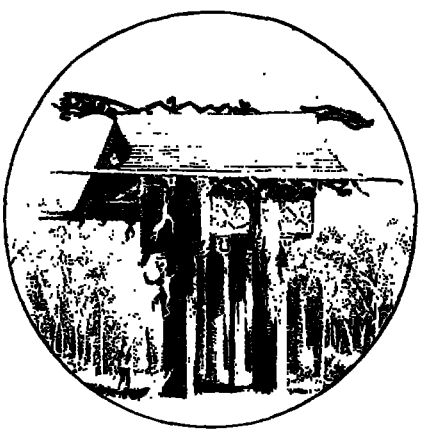
Brooke, born on April 29th, 1803, at Bandel, in Bengal, had then formed the plan of founding a colony in Borneo at his private cost; he appeared in June, 1839, with his crew on the coast, and actually conquered the opponents of the sultan, who in gratitude entrusted the governorship of Sarawak to him in 1840, and in 1842 formally invested him with the province.

Since "Rajah" Brooke was no ordinary adventurer, but a man of noble nature and strong character, his administration proved a blessing to the disorganised country. When the sultan showed signs of suspicion, the rajah relied upon England, and compelled the sultan in the year 1846 to cede



TYPES OF MALAY HOUSES IN BORNEO

the island of Labuan to the British, and finally, after he had suppressed various risings of the Malays and Chinese, made himself absolutely independent of Brunei. Shortly before his death he offered Sarawak to the British government. But the offer was refused, and after his death in 1868 the state of Sarawak passed to his nephew, Sir Charles Brooke. Subsequently the British government reconsidered its former decision, and in 1888 both Brunei and Sarawak were received under British protection on the terms that internal administration should be left entirely in the hands of their respective rulers, but that the foreign relations of both states should be controlled by Britain. The declaration of this protectorate came as a natural sequel to the acquisition of North Borneo. This province was granted to the British North Borneo Company as its private property in the year 1881. It passed under the protection of England at the same time and on the same terms as the states of Brunei and Sarawak.



FAMILY TOMB OF THE RAJAH OF DINDA

Thus the entire island of Borneo, the largest in the world except Australia and New Guinea, is divided, politically, into two parts, about three-quarters of the island being a Dutch colony, and the remaining fourth—the north and north-west portion—being British, and being composed of British North Borneo (31,106 square miles), Brunei (4,000 square miles), and Sarawak (42,000 square miles), with the contiguous island of Labuan (31 square miles). The territory of British North Borneo is administered by the British North Borneo Company through the agency of a resident Governor, whose appointment is conditional upon the approval of the Secretary of State. The chief products of British Borneo are timber, coffee, rice, sago, tobacco, rubber, gums, and spices. There is a railway of about 120 miles and there is telegraphic cable communication with the outer world. The chief town of British North Borneo is Sandakan, with a population of 8,000, and of Sarawak the chief town is Kuching, also the capital, with a population of a little over 30,000.



A RIVERSIDE VILLAGE IN THE ISLAND OF BORNEO




# CELEBES: SMALLEST OF THE LARGER ISLANDS

THE fourth large island of the Archipelago, Celebes, is of quite a different character from Borneo. Instead of the clumsy contour of Borneo, we find here a most diversified coast line. Immense plains such as we find in Borneo are wanting in Celebes, which is a land of mountainous peninsulas separated by deeply indented gulfs. If the island has not attracted commerce to its shores to the extent that might be expected from these favourable natural conditions, the reason is, doubtless, that attention has been diverted from it by the proximity of the spice-bearing Moluccas.

**A Land of Gulfs and Mountains**

Celebes, although fertile and not actually poor in ore and precious metals, and for that reason a valuable possession at the present day, does not contain those tempting products which hold out to the merchant the prospect of rapid and splendid profits. But although the accessibility of the island has not been thoroughly appreciated by foreigners, it has exercised great influence on the fortunes of the native population—it has sent them to the sea and turned them into wandering pirates, traders, and settlers.

Celebes has thus acquired for the eastern Malay Archipelago a significance similar to that of Malacca for the western. Celebes was not regarded by the old inhabitants of the Archipelago as a single united country. The northern peninsula with its aboriginal population of Alfur tribes had nothing in common with the southern parts, which were inhabited by the Macassars and the Bugi; and even the Dutch have recognised this difference so far as to place the two districts under different Residencies. Celebes, on the whole, is a genuine Malay country, although there are many indications among the Alfurs that there was an admixture of dark-skinned men; but whether we must think of these latter as stunted Negrito-like aborigines or as immigrant Papuans, is an insoluble problem for the time being. The Bugi and Macassars are pure Malays, who, in their whole life and being, probably most resemble those bold navigators of Malay race who have peopled Polynesia and Madagascar.

In view of the fact that the bulk of the population is still divided into numerous small tribes, which show little inclination to amalgamate, we cannot venture to assign an early date for the rise of large kingdoms in Celebes. Tradition in the south can still tell how the shrines of separate localities, from which emigrants went to other parts of the island, first acted as a rallying point for small tribes, or hindered the disintegration of others which were increasing in numbers and extent of territory; the chiefs of the several localities recognised the possessor of the most ancient and most potent magic charm as their superior lord, assembled from time to time at council meetings in his village, and thus prepared the way for the erection of larger political communities. This process probably was carried out in Celebes with comparatively little interruption and without the help of foreigners. Even of Hinduism only faint traces can have reached the island, as is shown, among other instances, from the absence of Sanscrit words in the original dialects of the Bugi. The small tribes were engaged in constant feuds among themselves before any states were formed, and after that epoch these wars were continued on a larger scale, and alternated with sanguinary conflicts within the still incompletely organised kingdoms. The annals of Macassar relate, for example, as a noteworthy fact, that one of these princes died a natural death. The foremost power among the Macassars was Goa, later Macassar; among the Bugi, on the contrary, the foremost power was Boni, from where the Bugi gradually spread far over the coasts of the Eastern Malay islands and to some extent founded new states.

**When Death by Violence was the Rule**

The Portuguese opened communications with Celebes in the year 1512. The kingdoms into which the island was then divided could hardly have been long

established; for even if the annals of the Macassars enumerate 39 princes, who occupied the throne in succession down to the year 1809, the average duration of a reign during those early days of barbarism and bloodshed must have been short. Assuming, therefore, that the records are fairly trustworthy, the state of Macassar may have been founded subsequently to the year 1400. The Portuguese first tried to secure a footing on the island in 1540, when they set up a factory in Menado, and later also in the south. They obtained, however, no better results than the English and Danes at a somewhat later period. The Dutch, who had turned their attention to Celebes after 1607, alone met with ultimate success.

But meanwhile Islam had reached the island. In 1603 the Prince of Macassar, with his people, adopted the new faith. The great ideas of this world-religion were here, as in so many other places, a stimulus to the prosperity of the country, so that the influence of the kingdom of Macassar made vast strides in the next few years, until its supremacy in Southern Celebes was indisputable. It was engaged in repeated wars with Boni, the state of the Bugi, since the people of that democratically organised kingdom refused to accept Islam, and resisted the new creed, first with their prince at their head, and then, when he was converted to the Mohammedan faith, in opposition to him. The Sultan of Macassar interfered in these quarrels, and succeeded, in the year 1640, in subduing Boni. The same fate was shared by numerous petty states. Macassar, with its naval power, partially conquered the coasts of Sumbawa and Buton: but it was destined soon to discover that the age of large native states was past.

**The Wars of the Petty States**

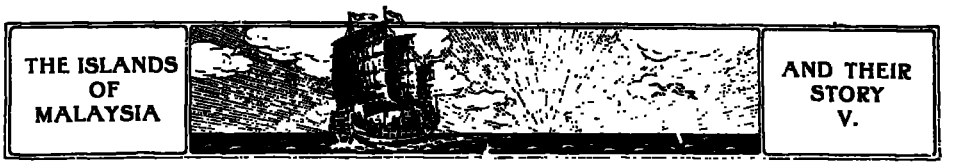
The destruction of a Dutch factory on Buton compelled the East India Company to take active measures; in doing so it relied on the conquered, but still disaffected, Boni, whose royal family had found a friendly reception as fugitives among the Dutch. The Sultan of Macassar was soon compelled to abandon his conquests and resign the throne of Boni to Rajah Palaka, a protégé of the Dutch, who from the year 1672 onward raised Boni to the ruling power in South Celebes. After his death (1696) a part of his kingdom became the absolute possession of the company. Although the Dutch always took full advantage of the inveterate hatred between Macassar and Boni, yet their attempts to extend their rule still farther led to repeated and troublesome wars, until the temporary British occupation of the island (1814–1816), and the ensuing disorders, resulted in drastic modifications of the political situation. A war with the princes of South Celebes ended in 1825 with the victory of the Dutch. The independence of the native states would have then ended for ever had not the rebellion in Java diverted attention in another direction. It was only after new struggles in 1856 and 1859 that their annexation to the colonial empire of the Dutch East Indies was effected.

**Establishment of Dutch Supremacy**

The history of North Celebes really belongs to that of the Moluccan Archipelago. The state of Menado may be noticed as an important political entity. When the northern peninsula, and especially the hilly district of Minahassa, had proved to be suitable for coffee plantations, European influence easily became predominant there, and all the more so since Islam had not yet won a footing. Elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies there have been few or no conversions to Christianity; but a part of the inhabitants of Minahassa have been converted. The eastern and smallest peninsula of Celebes has also in its external life been subject to the influence of the Moluccas.

Celebes is administered, like the other islands of Dutch East Indies, by the Governor-General, with headquarters in Batavia. The area of the island is 71,470 square miles, and the population is conjectured to be under two millions, but there seems to have been no authoritative basis for this estimate. The chief town and port is Vlaardingen, or Macassar, with a population of 20,000, in the extreme south of the island. Other trading ports are Menado and Kema on the northern peninsula. The climate of Celebes is much healthier than that of many other islands in the Malaysian group. Mining is prosecuted to some extent, valuable coal deposits existing in the northern parts. Gold has been found, and there is possibility of remunerative enterprise in its exploitation, and in the south sulphur is plentiful.

**Industrial Conditions in Celebes**




# THE MOLUCCAS AND THE SUNDA ISLANDS

THE modern history of the Malay Archipelago centres in the west round Java, but in the east round the Molucca Islands. In the earlier period, when the trade in muscat nuts and cloves had not yet attracted foreign shipping to its shores, the group of the Moluccas may have been less conspicuous; small tribes and village communities probably fought against each other, and may have extended their warlike expeditions and raids to Celebes and New Guinea, and these visits were probably returned in similar fashion. The trade in spices then raised the wealth and power of certain places to such a pitch that they were able to bring under their dominion large portions of the Archipelago. Jilolo, on the northernmost peninsula of Halmahera, is considered to be the oldest kingdom; in 1540 it was absorbed by Ternate. It is a remarkable fact that the influence of China on the Moluccas seems to have been very slight, since the islands are hardly mentioned in the Chinese annals before the fifteenth century.

The Portuguese on their arrival found two large kingdoms, Ternate and Tidor; both originally rose in small insular districts, their chief towns lay in close proximity, and as hostile rivals each was bent on eclipsing the other. The population of these two states was even then, probably, much mixed; in addition to the Alfurs, presumably the oldest occupants, who, on Halmahera especially, and also on Seram, had preserved a large share of their independence, there were on the coasts Malays, Bugi, and the descendants of other nations occupied in the spice trade. These included Javanese—who seem at first to have been almost exclusively occupied in transporting spices to their native island—Arabs, and probably also Chinese and Hindus. About Ternate we know that the seventh ruler mounted the throne in the year 1322; in his time Javanese and Arabs are said to have immigrated in exceptional numbers. Ternate and Tidor were maritime and insular states; they kept closely to the coast, and while their fleets were powerful they never possessed extensive territory on Halmahera and Seram. Since their power was entirely based on the spice trade, the princes of the two states courted the favour of the Portuguese, who indeed first appeared as traders. When Ternate proved successful in this respect, the monarch of Tidor threw himself into the arms of the Spaniards, who then came forward with their claims on the Moluccas. The outrages of the Portuguese led to many rebellions and conflicts.



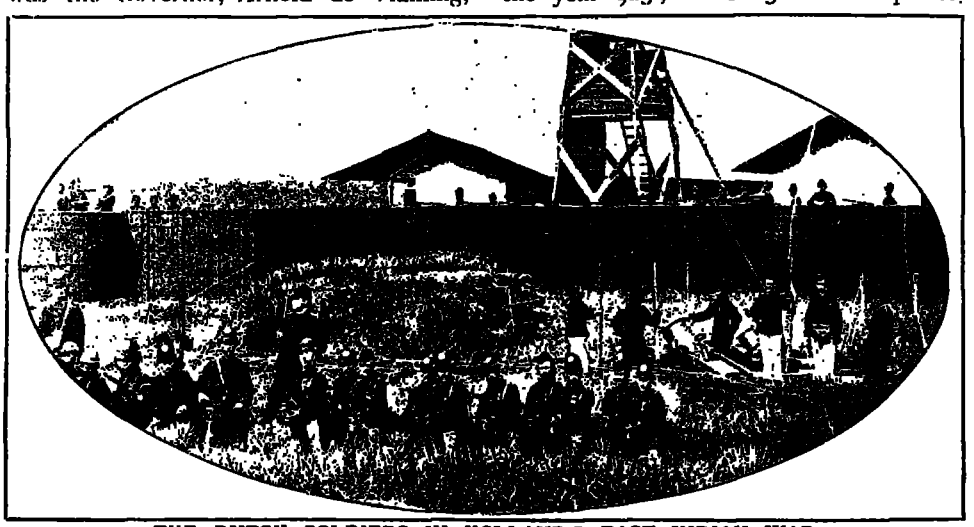
ENEMIES OF THE DUTCH IN BALI
These Balinese natives are said to use their wives and children as shields in battles against the Dutch

The Dutch first appeared on the scene in the year 1599, and planted a small settlement on Banda; another half century elapsed, however, before they felt themselves strong enough to seize the monopoly of spice-growing and the spice trade. The sultanates of Ternate and Tidor, which had some power over the coast districts of Celebes and New Guinea, were allowed to remain; but the spice islands proper —Amboina, after 1605, and Banda especially— were placed under Dutch administration. As it seemed impracticable to watch over all the islands, the company determined to allow the cultivation of cloves and

muscat nuts only in certain places, and everywhere else to effect a complete destruction of the spice trees.

The execution of this purpose necessitated a war, which in 1621 almost annihilated the population of the Banda Islands, so that thenceforth the company was able to introduce slaves, and thus exercise a stricter supervision. But since the seeds of the spice trees were continually being carried by birds to other islands, annual expeditions were undertaken to destroy the young plantations on prohibited soil, by force of arms if necessary; and unspeakable misery was in this way spread over the islands. These sad conditions, whose prime mover was the Governor, Arnold de Vlaming, play the least conspicuous part in history. Devoid of any political unity, they stagnated in their isolation until foreign immigration introduced a higher type of social life, and small kingdoms sprang into existence here and there along their coasts. The interior of the islands remained unsubdued and unaffected by this change.

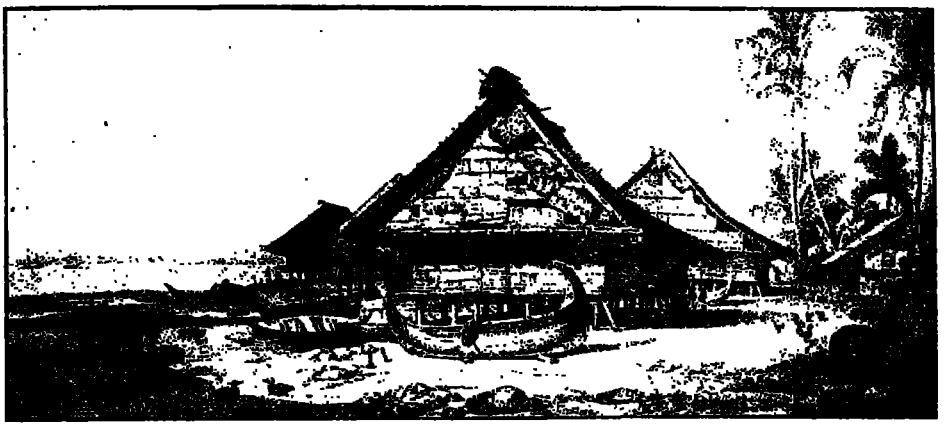
Bali affords a solitary exception to the general rule. This island, although profoundly influenced in ancient times by Java, frequently enjoyed political independence. When the Brahman states of East Java increased in strength towards the close of the first millennium of the Christian era, Bali also was a state with Hindu culture. Ugrasena ruled there in the year 923; in 1103 another prince,



THE DUTCH SOLDIERS IN HOLLAND'S EAST INDIAN WAR
A Dutch fort on the island of Bali, where the inhabitants resisted the soldiers of Holland for thirty years. The war was most sanguinary and the mortality appalling.

lasted down to the British occupation in 1810, and were afterward renewed, though in a modified form. In 1824 the destructive expeditions were discontinued, but the last traces of the spice monopoly disappeared only in 1873, when the plantations were sold to private speculators. During the time when the small Spice Islands had so chequered a history, the main islands long remained neglected. The Dutch gradually succeeded in acquiring influence over the semi-civilised Alfurs, of whom those who live on Seram are organised in peculiar secret societies, which originated in the peculiar system of male associations to which reference has been made. Of all the districts of the Malay Archipelago, the "small" Sunda Islands

Jayapangu, is mentioned. Bali later formed a part of the kingdom of Modyopahit. It was impossible for Islam to convert the Balinese, who, at the time when they formed a united people, actually assumed the aggressive, oppressed the Mohammedan Sassaks on the temporarily conquered Lombok, and menaced Sumbawa. Brahmanism defied its rival in this case at least, and has lasted on Bali down to the present day. In consequence of the prevailing system of small sovereigns, complete political disintegration gradually set in. There were eight petty states in Bali in the nineteenth century, when the Dutch in the years 1846, 1848, 1849, and 1868 undertook campaigns against Balinese princes. Nevertheless, the Dutch, even within the last



SEAPORT VILLAGE ON THE ISLAND OF CERAM

twenty years have required a comparatively strong levy of troops to crush the resistance of one of the princes.

Javanese influence also temporarily touched Sumbawa, the development of which on the whole was affected by the seafaring inhabitants of Southern Celebes, the Macassars and Bugis. It was formerly split up into six small and independent states, Bima, Sumbawa, Dompo, Tambora, Sangar, and Papekat. The population of the " kingdoms " of Tambora and Papekat suffered terribly under the devastating eruption of Tambora (April 10th, 1815), as, to a somewhat less degree, did those of Sangar, Dompo, and the town of Sumbawa. In the east of Floris, or Flores, of which the capital is Larantuka, Malay and Buginese immigrants predominated; the west, Mangerai, was dependent on Bima, one of the states on Sumbawa, and connected with it by a common language. Timor may have been mostly influenced by the Moluccas, and saw small principalities formed on its coast at a comparatively early date; these principalities had mostly disappeared by 1600 in consequence of the advance of Timorese, in the stricter sense of the word, who inhabited the east of the island and originally, perhaps, had their homes in Seram. The most north-easterly part of Timor (Deli or Dilhi) is the last remnant of the Portuguese possessions in Indonesia; in the south-west (Kupang) the Dutch have had a footing since 1688.

The total area of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, is about 43,864 square miles. They consist of two main groups, the northern including Jilolo, Ternate, Tidore and the Obi group, and the southern including Buro, Ceram, Amboina and the Banda group. The total population is estimated at about 411,000. The chief town and commercial centre is Amboina, on the island of the same name, with a population of about 8,000, and an annual trade of about £85,000. The chief products are cloves and other spices, rice, sago, maize, timber, coco-nuts, and cocoa.



ATTACK OF THE OLD MALAY PIRATES

# THE MANIFESTO OF A MODERN PATRIOT

## AGUINALDO'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

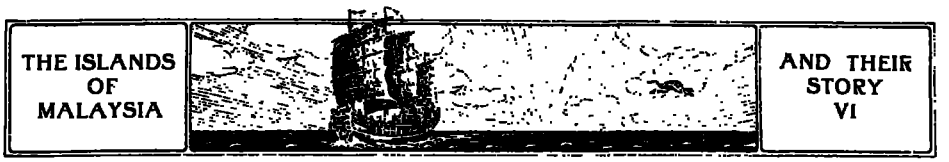
"I HEREBY renounce all allegiance to any and all so-called Revolutionary Governments in the Philippine Islands, and recognise and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America therein. I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to that Government; that I will at all times conduct myself as a faithful and law-abiding citizen of the said islands, and will not, either directly or indirectly, hold correspondence with, or give intelligence to any enemy of the United States; nor will I abet, harbour, or protect such enemy; that I impose upon myself these voluntary obligations without any mental reservations or purpose of evasion, so help me God."

## AGUINALDO TO HIS COUNTRYMEN

"I BELIEVE I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar with the progress of the war. The lessons taught with a full meaning, which have recently come to my knowledge, suggest with irresistible force that a complete termination of hostilities and lasting peace are not only desirable, but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippine Islands.

"The Filipinos have never been dismayed at their weakness, nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along this path to be impeded by an irresistible force, which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens their minds and opens to them another course, presenting them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced by the majority of my fellow countrymen, who already have united around the glorious sovereign banner of the United States. In this banner they repose their trust and believe that under its protection the Filipino people will attain all those promised liberties which they are beginning to enjoy.

"The country has declared unmistakably in favour of peace. So be it. There has been enough blood, enough tears, and enough desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by a desire to serve our noble people, which has thus clearly manifested its will. So do I respect this will, now that it is known to me. After mature deliberation, I resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of a people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones enjoying the liberty and the promised generosity of the great American nation. By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the Philippine Archipelago, as I now do, and without any reservation whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine."




# THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

## THE STORY OF A STRUGGLE FOR NATIONALITY

THE large group of the Philippines, which comprise over 3,000 distinct islands and islets and which in a geological as well as ethnological sense represents the link connecting Indonesia to the region of Eastern Asia, forms the north-eastern portion of the Malay world of islands. Malayism is always predominant in the Philippines; it may, indeed, have prevailed in Formosa also, and thence have made further conquests. The Philippines were not always in the possession of the Malays. In the earliest historical age we find the islands inhabited by the Negritos, who were only gradually driven back to the mountains of the interior by the immigrating brown race; it was only on the north shores of Luzon that they kept their position on the sea-coast. There were probably two invasions of Malays; the tribes of the first intermixed very largely with Negritos, and on the second immigration shared their fate, since they, too, were forced to retreat to the mountainous interior of the islands, while the newcomers occupied the coasts.

The second wave of immigration, like the first, flooded chiefly the south of the Archipelago, and ethnologically changed it, while the Negritos on the coast in the north-east of Luzon once more escaped extermination. The Malays of the second migration brought to the Philippines an advanced civilisation which shows traces of the influence of India; this event may have occurred, therefore, some centuries after the Christian era. Though not absolutely convincing, many arguments support the view that the second immigrants came from Sumatra, the cradle of the Malay race; other features of resemblance point to the Dyaks of Borneo. The Tagals on the peninsula of Luzon became the representatives of the native semi-civilisation. A third immigration, which, however, was not so thoroughly carried out, is connected with the advance of Islam into the Malay island-world. The Malays of Brunei in Borneo undertook expeditions of conquest and conversion to the Philippines about 1500. They subdued Palawan and firmly established themselves on Luzon. Almost simultaneously immigrants from the Moluccas settled on Mindanao and seized the Sulu Islands. A Mohammedan pirate state arose there, while previously, as we learn from Chinese records of 1417, the group of islands was divided into three kingdoms.



AGUINALDO, THE NATIONAL HERO

The Philippines were reached, from the east, on

March 16th, 1521, by the Portuguese Magalhaes, who was in the Spanish service, and were called St. Lazarus Isles; later the name Islas de Poniente was given them; the name Philippines was not adopted until 1565. The islands excited little attention at first while an obstinate struggle developed between the Spaniards and the Portuguese for the possession of the Moluccas. When Charles V. abandoned the Moluccas on April 22nd, 1529, the Philippines also would probably have fallen into the hands of the Portuguese if private Spaniards had not set foot on them, and if Portugal had not attached light importance to their possession. It was not until 1543 that a Spanish fleet appeared once more in the Archipelago with the commission to found a Spanish settlement. But this finally fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who theoretically still asserted their claims to the Philippines. A renewed attempt in the year 1565 met at last with success: the Spaniards established themselves first on Sebu, then on Panay. In 1570 they turned to Luzon, and founded in the ensuing year the town of Manila.

**The Struggle between Spain and Portugal**



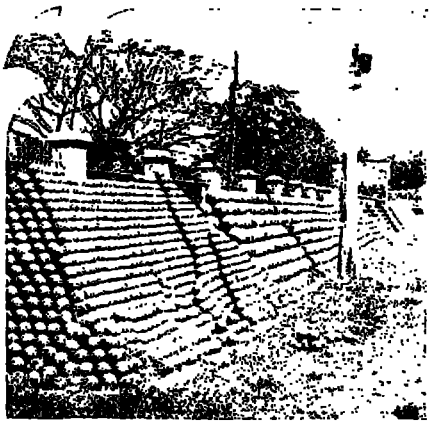
FILIPINO INSURGENT CHIEFS

The Spaniards, after Portugal had been united to their kingdom in 1580, found two other rivals who endangered their existence—the Mohammedans, or Moros, advancing from the south, and the Chinese, who were largely represented, especially on Luzon. These latter had long maintained commercial intercourse with the Philippines, and seem sometimes also to have won political influence. They constituted a perpetual menace to the Spanish rule, but required, nevertheless, to be treated cautiously, since the revenues of the colonies depended almost wholly on the trade with China. In the year 1603 a terrible revolt of the Chinese broke out. It was quelled with great slaughter of the insurgents by the Spaniards with the help of the natives and of Japanese, who were also resident on Luzon for trading purposes.

A few years later, however, the number of Chinese settlers in Manila had once more risen to an alarming height. A new revolt was suppressed in 1639, and when, in 1662, the Philippines were threatened by the Chinese freebooter Cheng Ko Chuang, whose father, Koxinga, had conquered Formosa, there was once more a massacre, which, however, did not result in the total exclusion of the undesirable guests.

The Spaniards met with more success in their struggle against Islam. Christianity, thanks to the active zeal of the Spanish monks, completely outstripped Islam on Luzon, while on Mindanao and the other southern islands the progress of the Mohammedan teaching was at least checked. The task of ruling the natives was facilitated through the circumstance that no large kingdoms appear to have existed on the Philippines before the conquest. The Spanish Government was most anxiously concerned to obtain the complete monopoly of the trade of the Philippines. Commerce was permitted only with the American colonies of Spain. A port was founded at Acapulco for the purpose of this trade, and once a year a great galleon sailed thither from the Philippines, bearing native spices and goods from China, Japan, and India. The price of this cargo was usually paid in silver dollars. A definite maximum in goods and money was fixed, which might not be exceeded. Direct trade with Europe was prohibited, notwithstanding frequent attempts by the merchants of

**Spanish Trading Restrictions**



INTERIOR OF FORT SANTIAGO, MANILA



SCENE ON THE PASIG RIVER, MANILA



BRIDGE OF SPAIN, MANILA



CHURCH OF SAN SEBASTIAN, MANILA



MANILA'S PRINCIPAL BUSINESS STREET

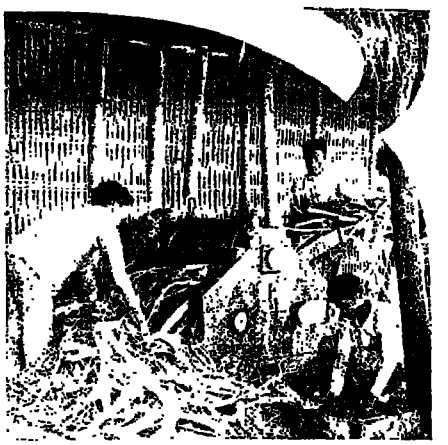


ENTRANCE TO THE WALLED CITY, MANILA

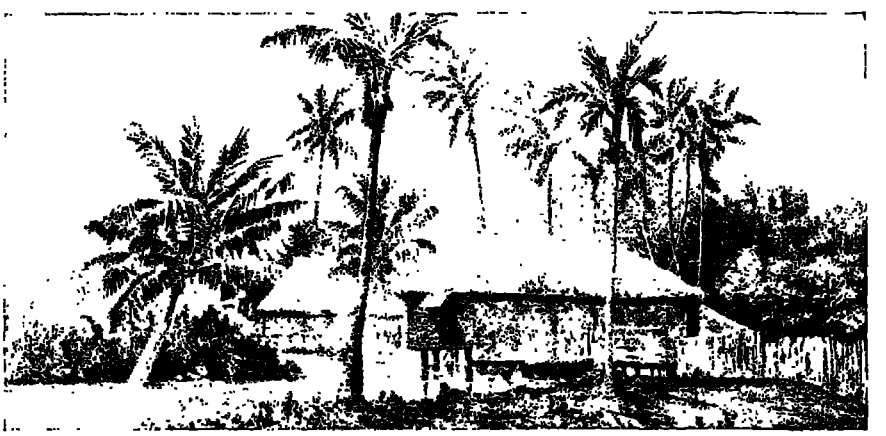
Underwood & Underwood, London



PHILIPPINE COCO-NUT FARM



PHILIPPINE SUGAR MILL



NATIVE BATHING HOUSES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MANILA

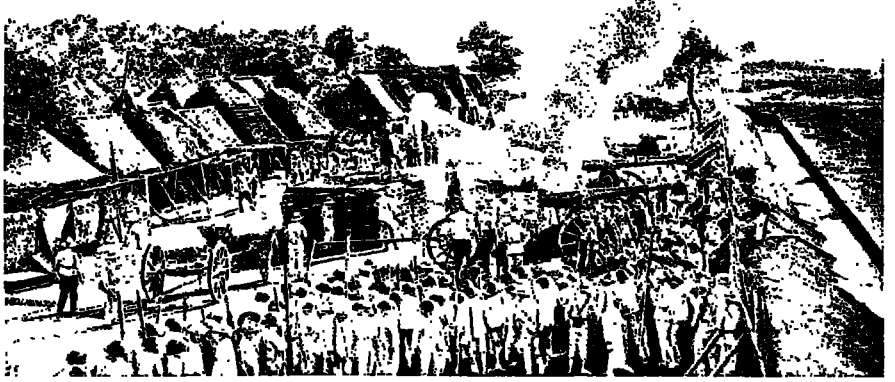


SCENE IN MALOLOS, AGUINALDO'S CAPITAL

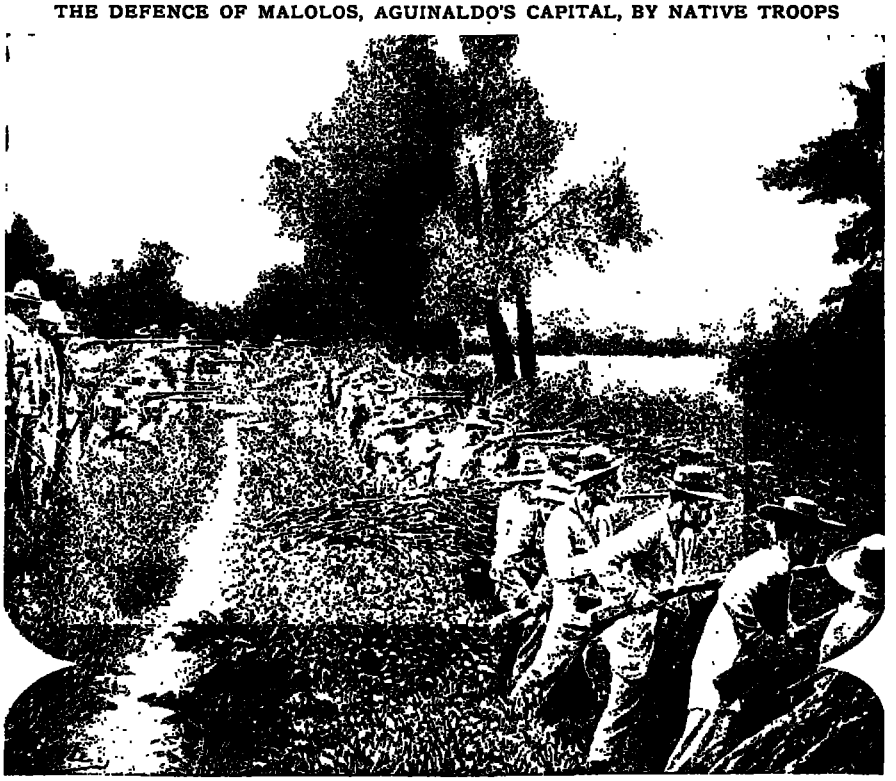


NATIVE HOUSE IN THE TOWN OF ERMITA

Underwood & Underwood, London



THE DEFENCE OF MALOLOS, AGUINALDO'S CAPITAL, BY NATIVE TROOPS



AGUINALDO S TROOPS ON THE DEFENSIVE IN A FIELD ENGAGEMENT

Underwood & Underwood, London

Seville. The richly laden vessels which were engaged in the commerce with America naturally tempted all the pirates and admirals of unfriendly nations, and were not unfrequently plundered, as, for example, by Anson on the coast of the island of Samar in 1743.

**Plundered Galleons of Spain**

After 1758 the trade lay in the hands of the Real Compania de Filipinas. The harbour of Manila was first opened to all maritime nations in 1803; in 1814 free trade was introduced, and in 1834 the company was dissolved. But even then foreign competition was checked as much as possible by all kinds of vexatious customs duties; the ruinous tobacco monopoly was not done away with until 1882.



FILIPINO TRENCH TAKEN BY AMERICANS
Underwood & Underwood, London

Although these ridiculous restrictions on trade and the ascendency of the clerical party hindered all progress, still the Philippines, during the union of Portugal with Spain (1580–1640), formed the centre of a splendid colonial empire. But through the competition of the Netherlands, Spain was soon restricted to the Philippines proper, which now for a long time were anything but prosperous. Nevertheless the spread of Christianity among the natives helped to consolidate the colony. When a British fleet appeared off Manila in the year 1763, and the Chinese and Indians rose against the Spaniards, the latter received the help of the Christian native population.

These allies could not save Manila from falling for the moment into the hands of the British, but the Treaty of Paris restored to the Spaniards all that had been conquered from them in the Philippines. Their power was now unchallenged, except by such rebellions as the tyranny of the monastic and mendicant orders produced among the native races, and by the more formidable discontent of the Malayo-Spanish half-castes, who had received a tinge of European culture, but felt themselves slighted and were eager to play a leading part. Unrest showed itself in 1824. The mutiny of the troops in 1872 might have been most dangerous had it not been smothered by prompt action. The political power of Spain seemed on the whole to have been consolidated in the course of the nineteenth century; and Spain gradually succeeded in annexing to her sovereignty a part at least of the hitherto independent districts such as Southern Mindanao and the Sulu Islands. But the ineradicable tradition of treating the colonies as sources of profit for place hunters and for the ecclesiastical orders prevented any real prosperity; it was equally impossible to treat the Tagals for all time as the Indians of Paraguay had been treated at the time of the Jesuit supremacy. The thought of freedom gradually gained ground; secret societies, resembling freemasonry, formed the rallying-point of discontented Filipinos, whose hatred was directed chiefly against the priesthood.

Though nominally a Spanish colony for 327 years, the Spanish arm did not reach over the greater part of the group. The Government was virtually subservient to the monastic orders, who, through influence at the Court, could make or unmake the Governor-General. They absorbed all the best land in the colony, and by their intrigues and their quarrels among themselves brought the Europeans into contempt among the natives.

**Influence of Monastic Orders**

A revolt against the power of the monks was inevitable as soon as the natives began to acquire wealth. At first it took a



AGUINALDO AT HOME WITH HIS LITTLE SON

Keystone View Co.



SPANISH MEZTIZA GIRLS OF MANILA IN NATIVE DRESS

Underwood & Underwood, London

constitutional form. Contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent, the monks usurped the duties of the secular clergy and acted as spies in every Christian village, procuring the deportation of any native obnoxious to them without trial. Many of the Filipinos had been ordained priests, and the natives demanded that Mass in the country villages should be celebrated by the secular clergy, the ministration of the friars being confined to missions. In 1872 the monasteries retaliated by a Bill of Indictment against the richest and most influential native families, who were deported summarily to the Ladrone Islands, while four ringleaders of the native priests were publicly garrotted, and the native clergy were declared thenceforth to be incompetent to have the cure of souls. It was no longer a matter for constitutional methods, and the Filipinos began to talk openly of revolution. Philippine committees were founded at Madrid and Barcelona, and native scholars trained in Europe began to introduce new ideas.

**Discontent Among the Filipinos**

The most distinguished of these was the late Dr. Rizal, who at once joined issue with the monks by disputing their legal title to the lands they occupied. It was open war, and Rizal became the idol of his fellow-countrymen. His life being unsafe, he returned to Europe, but in 1892, having received a safe-conduct from the Governor-General, he returned. He was immediately arrested, however, at the instance of the monks, on a charge of introducing seditious leaflets in his luggage. The monks demanded his execution, but the Governor took the halfway measure of banishing him to the island of Mindanao.

**Filipinos in Arms Against Spain**

The familiar machinery of the monastic orders was now put into motion, and the procurators of the religious houses in Madrid obtained from the Government the recall of Governor-General Despujols, though he had been only eight months in office. The revolutionaries immediately planned a rising in arms, and in the desultory guerilla warfare of 1896 Emilio Aguinaldo came to the front as commander-in-chief of the rebels.

The revolt of 1896, inspired by the Filipino League, closely followed by the war between Spain and America in 1898, finally put an end to the wretched pretence of a Spanish Government, and when Manila was ceded to the Americans the real trouble began. The Filipinos were hungering for the loot of the city, and to leave the country to their tender mercies would have been an unthinkable crime. Common humanity, no less than policy, forced the hands of the American Government, and the Philippines had to be conquered from end to end. For more than two years an army of 60,000 men was kept fully occupied, and it was not until fifteen months after the capture of Aguinaldo and his lieutenant Malvar that resistance was stamped out. The Americans lost no time in substituting civil for military administration, and as soon as peace prevailed throughout the islands a legislative assembly was formed. The franchise for the Lower House was confined to property owners and persons who could speak English or Spanish. The Upper House had a majority of American members. At the same time overtures were made for buying out the various monastic orders. The real difficulty for the Americans lay in the want of civil servants trained in colonial administration, but that is a difficulty which time is fast removing. The total area of the Philippine Islands is about 127,853 square miles. The largest islands are Luzon (40,969 square miles) and Mindanao (36,292 square miles). The population, according to an estimate made in 1913, is 8,831,618, of whom 647,740 are uncivilised. Manila, the capital of the group, had a population of 250,000 in 1913. The islands contain about 25,000 Europeans and Americans, and about 100,000 Chinese. The legislative body consists of seven commissioners—four Americans and three Filipinos — under a Governor-General. The whole area of the islands is now under civil governors, and the country is fast settling down to industrial life and progress. The chief products of the Philippines are hemp, coffee, sugar, copra, tobacco, rice, and indigo. Before the coming of the Americans the mineral resources of the Philippines had not been investigated, but under American enterprise prospecting is being carried out. The most important minerals seem, from present indications, to be lignite, gold, iron, copper, lead and manganese. For the year 1912 the revenue was 13,517,070 dollars (about £2,703,414 and the expenditure 14,804,040 dollars (about £2,960,808).

**Philippine Policy of America**

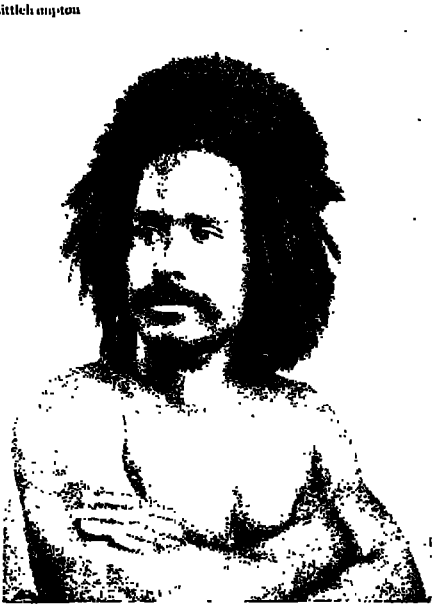
# MEN AND MANNERS IN OCEANIA



HULA GIRLS OF HAWAII, SANDWICH ISLANDS
Edwards, Littlehampton



NATIVE LADY OF FIJI



HIGH-CASTE NATIVE OF FIJI
Underwood & Underwood, London



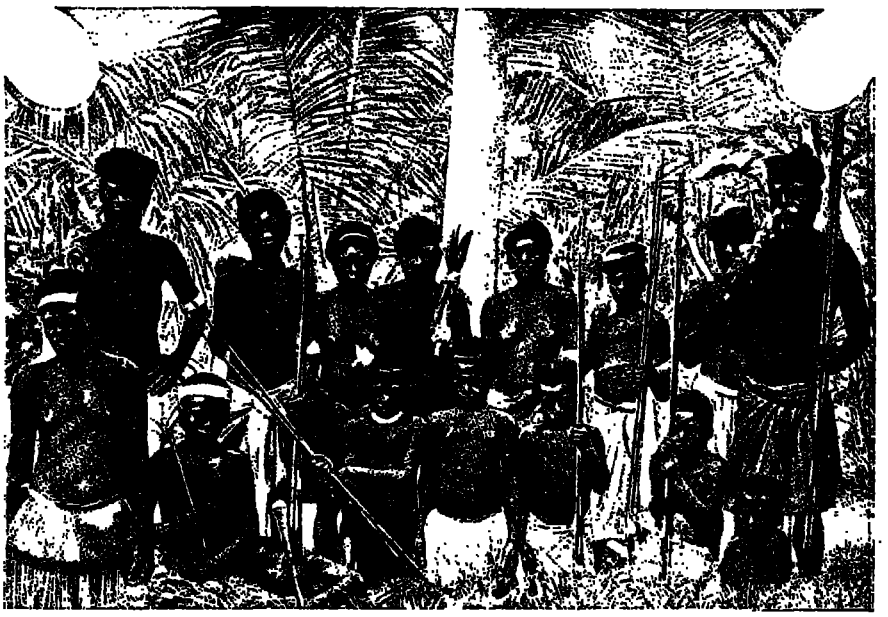
GROUP OF YOUNG WOMEN OF THE BETTER CLASS, TAHITI



TAHITAN FISHERMEN



YOUNG MEN OF TAHITI



WARRIORS, WOMEN, AND BOYS OF NEW CALEDONIA



MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE NEW HEBRIDES





YOUNG WOMAN OF TONGA AND SAMOAN "ORATOR,' WITH FLY FLAPPER





SCHOOL-GIRLS OF SAMOA AND FRUITSELLERS OF NEW CALEDONIA

Kerry, Sydney



NATIVES OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS



FIJI WARRIORS REPRESENTING A FIGHT WITH CLUBS
Underwood & Underwood, London



"MONKEY SHAVE" IN NEW BRITAIN



NATIVES OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

Underwood & Underwood, London



DYAK FIGHTING MEN OF NEW GUINEA



AN ELDERLY SOLOMON ISLANDER



SOLOMON MAN WITH BLEACHED HAIR

Underwood & Underwood, London



GROUP OF NATIVE MEN OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS



MAORI MOTHER AND CHILD



TWO MAORI CHIEFS



YOUNG MAORI IN FULL DRESS



AN OLD MAORI CHIEF

Photographs: J. Valentine, Dundee



# OCEANIA

# THE ISLAND NATIONS OF THE SOUTH SEAS

## THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ISLANDS

FROM a geographical point of view Oceania is a unique feature of the surface of the globe. In the first place it is of enormous size. From the Pelew Islands in the west to Easter Island in the east it stretches over 120 degrees of longitude, that is to say, over fully a third of the circumference of the earth, and from Hawaii in the north to New Zealand in the south it covers 80 degrees of latitude. It resembles, therefore, in this respect the giant continent of Asia, while with its entire land and water area of 27,000,000 square miles it is nearly half as large again.

**Enormous Extent of Oceania**

The distribution of this "world of islands" within this enormous space is most uneven. Speaking generally, the islands are less densely clustered and smaller in size as one goes from west to east. Though Melanesia does not include many large islands, it includes New Guinea, a country which is not only twice as large as all the other islands of Oceania put together—320,000 square miles to 177,000 square miles—but represents the largest insular formation on the globe.

The Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Group contain islands which in size far exceed all the Micronesian and most of the Polynesian islands; New Caledonia alone is in area almost twice as large as all the Polynesian islands put together, if Hawaii be omitted—7,000 square miles to 4,000 square miles. New Zealand, finally, has almost exactly ten times the area of the whole Polynesian realm of islands including Hawaii—106,000 square miles to 11,000 square miles. Melanesia forms the inner of the two great belts of island groups which curve in a thin line round the continent of Australia, while the outer belt contains all Micronesia and West Polynesia. But between the island clusters of Melanesia, in spite of their considerable area and their dense grouping on a narrow periphery, stretch broad expanses of sea. How thinly scattered, then, must be the islets of Micronesia and Polynesia, with their insignificant area, over the vast waters of the ocean! This isolation is the main feature in their distribution. Our maps of the Pacific are always on a very small scale and cannot bring out this peculiarity. The Caroline Islands, to give an instance, do not indeed appear on them as a dense cluster, but still show clearly how close their interconnection is. Including the Pelews they comprise forty-nine islands and atolls, whose total area is six hundred square miles; or, to give an English parallel, almost precisely the area of

**Isolation of the Ocean Island Groups**

Monmouthshire. This is certainly not much in itself, and how infinitely small it appears when distributed over the expanse of sea which is framed by the archipelago! Stretching over thirty-two degrees of longitude and nine degrees of latitude it covers almost precisely the same area as the Mediterranean—namely, one hundred thousand square miles. We are, therefore, dealing with magnitudes which practically allow of no comparison; and all the more so since, of those six hundred square miles, five islands—which, it may be remarked, are the only ones of non-coralline formation—contain more than two-thirds. The small remainder is distributed over forty-four atolls, hardly rising above the level of the sea, which, with their average size of one square mile, literally disappear in that vast waste of waters. The case is the same with the majority of the Micronesian and Polynesian archipelagoes. Even if the distribution is not so thin as that of the Caroline Islands, still the insignificance of the land surface in comparison with the sea is shown by the fact that the Spaniards in the sixteenth century cruised for some decades up and down the south seas without sighting more than a few islands, which formed part of the densest clusters.

**An English County in an Ocean**

This distribution of its homes over so vast a region has been of the greatest importance for the inhabitants of Oceania. In the first place, they could reach their ultimate home only by navigation; and, besides that, it was impossible to form and maintain any relations with neighbours by any other means of communication. One result of this was that the natives in general had attained a high degree of skill in seamanship at the time of the arrival of the Europeans; another that they showed a marvellous disregard of distances and a mobility most unusual among primitive races. Not one among all the peoples of the earth can comparewith the Oceanians in all these respects. The clumsy Melanesians, it is true, remain in the background; but where can we find ships to compare in grace and seaworthiness with those of Polynesia or Micronesia, or voyages so extended as those of the Pacific races? And what primitive people can point to colonisation so wide and so effective as the Polynesian?

**Races of Seamen and Boat-builders**

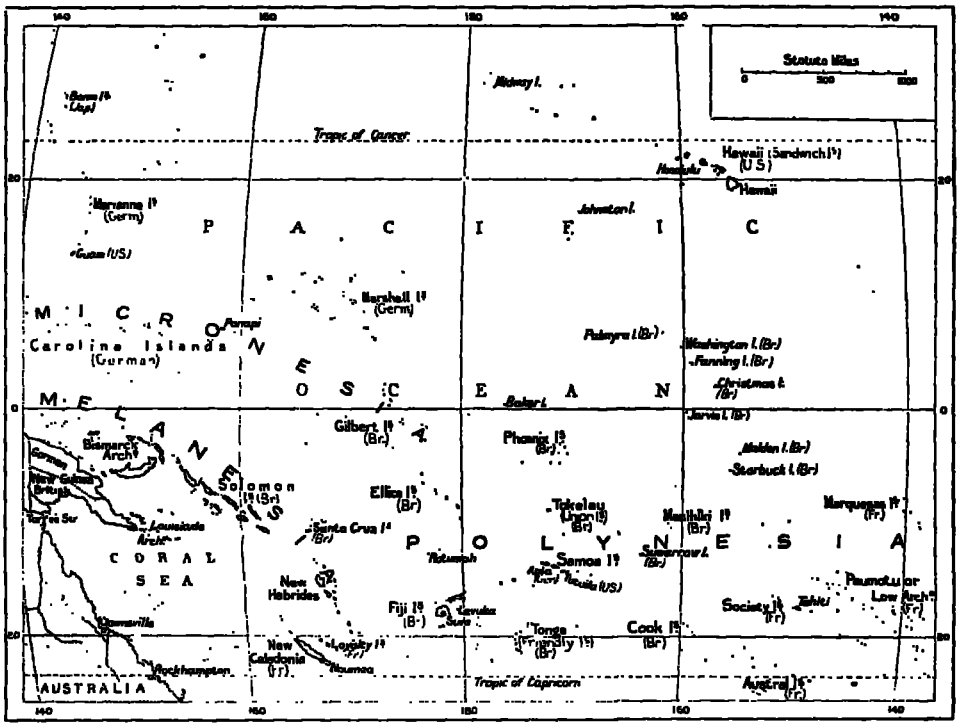
Yet it must be borne in mind that all these astounding performances were executed by races who knew nothing of iron until quite recent times, and were restricted to stone, wood, and shells.

The configuration of the islands in the South Sea has exercised as great an influence on the racial life as their geographical distribution and size. According to the degree of their visibility from the open sea the realm of islands is divided into high (mainly volcanic) and low (or coral) islands. There is no sharp local differentiation of the two groups within the vast region. Some archipelagoes indeed, such as the Tuamotu, Gilbert, and Marshall islands, are purely coral constructions; others again, like all the remaining groups of East and West Polynesia, are high islands. But generally speaking, the fact remains that coralline formations, whether fringing reefs or barrier reefs, are the constant feature of the high islands. This is also the case with the five high islands of the Carolines.

This peculiar arrangement, as well as the configuration of the islands, has in various points greatly influenced the Oceanians and their historical evolution. In the first place the labour of the coral insects always increases the size of the land. This is most clearly seen in the atolls; the reef-building capacity of those insects has produced the whole extent of those dwelling places for man. The activity of the corals, though less in itself, is more varied in its effect in the case of the high islands surrounded by reefs. First, the beach is widened and thus the entire economic position of the islanders is improved. The fertile delta of the Rewa on Vita Levu, as well as the strips of shore from half a mile to two miles broad which border the Tahiti islands, lie on old reefs. These themselves are, wherever they occur, the best fishing grounds; besides this, they always form excellent harbours and channels—a most important point for seafarers like the Oceanians. The seamanship and bold navigation of this racial group has thus been markedly affected by the activity of diminutive molluscs.

**How Coral Islands make Nations**

The great poverty of the islands as a whole has been an important factor in their history. From a distance they appear like earthly Paradises, but on landing the traveller finds that even the




**MAP OF THE ISLANDS OF OCEANIA**

**Showing their relationship to the Australian continent and the great island of New Guinea.**

most picturesque of them offers little to man. Barely a hundredth part of the surface of the coral islands is productive; in the majority of the larger volcanic islands the fertile soil does not amount to more than a quarter, or according to some authorities to more than an eighth, of the entire surface. There is also often an entire lack of fresh water. Under such circumstances the possibility of settlement is confined within narrow limits; if the population exceeds a definite figure there is imminent risk of death from starvation or thirst. The South Sea Islanders are therefore, in the first place, prone to wander; in the second place they adopt the cruel custom of infanticide, in order to check the growth of the population.

**Paradises of Poverty**

A third result of the poverty of the islands, and one which is important for the geographical aspect of the settlements, is the limitation of the habitable region to the outer edge of the islands. This peculiarity is, on the atolls, a necessary consequence of their circular shape; but it is the rule also among the high islands, even the largest of them. Even in New Guinea itself, that immense island, with its enormous superficial development, the coast districts seem to be distinctly more densely inhabited than the interior. This is the most striking fact about the distribution of animal and vegetable life in Oceania. The land is poor; the sea, the only means of communication, is rich in every form of life.

The poverty of this world of islands is partly connected with the nature of the soil and the enormous distances, which most organisms cannot cross, but partly also with the climate. If we leave out of consideration New Zealand, which extends into temperate latitudes, Oceania possesses a tropical climate tempered by the surrounding ocean. The temperatures are not excessive even for Europeans. But uniformity is their chief feature; the diurnal and annual range is limited to a few degrees.

**Climatic Influences in Oceania**

The differences in the rainfall are more marked. Although generally ample, in places amounting to two hundred and fifty or three hundred inches in the year, it is

almost completely wanting in parts of that vast region, which are so dry that extensive guano beds can be formed. The contrasts in the rainfall on the several groups and islands are the more striking, since they are confined to a smaller space. These are not, of course, noticeable on the flat coral islands, which scarcely project a couple of yards above the sea; but the elevation of the high islands into the moister strata of the atmosphere presupposes a strong differentiation between the weather side and the lee side. The side sheltered from the wind escapes the rain. These two sides do not face the same points of the compass throughout the whole Pacific Ocean. Its western part, as far as the Solomons, belongs to the region of the West Pacific monsoon; the east, however, is the definite region of the trade-winds. Hence, in the east, the most luxurious tropical vegetation covers the east and north sides of the islands in the Northern Hemisphere, and the east and south sides of those in the Southern Hemisphere; while on their lee side the true barrenness of the soil shows itself, whereas, in the west, the conditions are almost reversed.

**Effects of Mountains on the Islands**

The effect of this climate on the development of the culture and history of the Oceanian is at once seen in the difference of temperament and character between the wild and energetic, yet politically capable, Maori on far distant New Zealand with its bracing Alpine air, and his not ungifted northern kinsmen, indolent and politically sterile, who have been unnerved by the unvarying uniformity of temperature. On the other hand the steadiness of the meteorological conditions has allowed the Oceanians to develop into the best seamen among primitive races.

Where, as in Oceania, one can be certain of the weather often for months in advance, it is easier, from inclination or necessity, to venture on an excursion into the unknown than in regions where the next hour may upset all calculations. The regularity of the winds and currents of the Pacific Ocean has played a great part in the theories that have been formed about the Polynesian migrations; in fact, most of them are absolutely based upon them.

**Regular Weather Conditions**

Thanks to geographical exploration, we now know that this regularity is by no means so universal as used to be assumed; that, on the contrary, in these regions also, the wind veers with the variations of atmospheric pressure, and the currents with the wind. Here also from time to time deviations from the usually prevailing direction—that is, from the eastern quadrants—are to be noticed. On the other hand, we are indebted to the spread of ethnographical investigation for the knowledge that the seamanship of the Polynesians not only extended to sailing with the wind, but that an occasional tacking against it was not outside the limit of their nautical skill. The ocean and its meteorology thus lose some of their value as sources furnishing an answer to the question of the origin of the Polynesians, in comparison with anthropological and ethnographical evidence; but it would be at any rate premature to disregard them altogether. Even if skilful use of the last-mentioned methods of inquiry is likely to solve the problem of origin, the other and almost equally important question of distribution over the whole ocean can be answered only by giving full weight to geographical consideration.

**Poverty that Makes History**

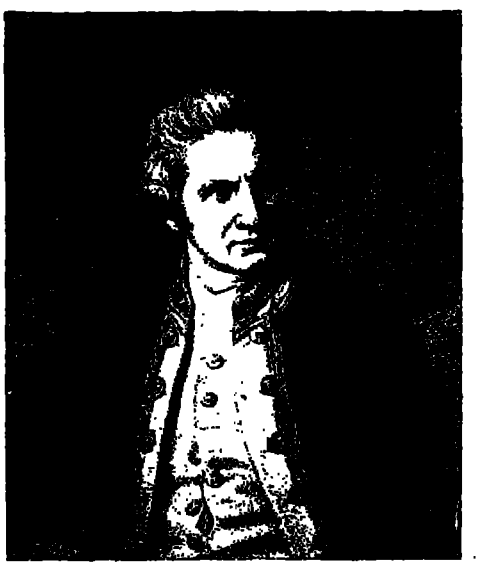
The main feature of the flora of Oceania is its dependence on the region of the south-east Asiatic monsoon. This feature is very marked in Melanesia; but further toward the east it gradually disappears, while the number of varieties generally diminishes. Strangely enough, it is this very scantiness that has proved of such importance for the history of Oceania. The Melanesian, surrounded by a luxuriant wealth of vegetation, dreams away his existence and leaves no history; his wants are supplied by the unfailing store of the ocean or the rich forest. We first find a historical life in the Fiji archipelago, where nature is less prodigal. The inhabitant of Polynesia or Micronesia has not been so spoilt. Scantily endowed with fertile soil and edible plants, he is confronted by the wide ocean, which he has nevertheless learnt to subdue. Although he did not possess a single tree which could furnish him with seaworthy timber, he became a craftsman, whose skill compensated for the deficiencies of Nature. But by so doing he had in one direction freed himself from the constraint of Nature, and nothing could hinder him from mastering her in another. Progress in technical skill has always been the first

step toward every other form of progress, including the annihilation of distance.

Nevertheless, the Polynesians would not have been able to extend their wanderings so widely had not Nature, so niggard in everything else, given them further support in the shape of the coco-nut palm. Its seeds, together with those of a few other plants, can cross spaces as vast as the distances between the Pacific islands without losing their germinative power; thus these seeds have been the first condition of the diffusion of the Polynesian over the wide realm of islands. It is only recently that other food plants have become more important for the nourishment of the islanders than the coco-nuts.

**Importance of the Coco-nut**

This does not apply to New Zealand. Just as the country climatically is distinct from the rest of the island world, so its flora bears an essentially different stamp. It is unusually varied, and the number of species can be counted by the thousand. Only two plants, however, have proved of value to the aborigines—the rarauhe, a fern with an edible root, and the hara-keke, or New Zealand flax. The value attached to it by the first Europeans, and their consequent efforts to obtain it, led to the first friendly intercourse between the Maoris and the whites.



CAPTAIN COOK

The English naval captain who circumnavigated the globe, and made important geographical surveys and discoveries.

The characteristic of the fauna of Oceania is its poverty in mammals and animals of service to man, in the east even more than in the west. Even the dingo, which the wretched native of Australia could make his somewhat dubious companion, has not been vouchsafed by Nature to the Oceanian. It is only in quite modern times that the kindness of foreigners has supplied the old deficiency by the introduction of European domestic animals. New Zealand was once rich in the species and number of its large fauna. Many varieties of the moa, some of gigantic size—the largest species measured thirteen feet in height—roamed the vast plains. At the present day it is one of the long extinct classes, having fallen a victim to the insatiable craving of the Maori for flesh food. It is easy to understand that the small islands are poor in animal life, for with their scanty space they could not afford the larger creatures any means of existence. On the other hand, the poverty of the fauna of New Guinea is more surprising; notwithstanding the tropical luxuriance of its soil, its fauna is even more scanty than that of Australia. The pig alone has proved valuable to the population.

The result of this limited fauna, as reflected in an ethnographically important phenomenon, has been of much consequence in the historical development of the races of Polynesia and Micronesia. The races living principally on islands of very small size are at the present day either entirely without bows and arrows as weapons, or retain them merely as a survival. This has been traced back to the want of opportunity for practice, which is more essential for the bow than for any other weapon. This opportunity could never have been very frequent, even if the supply of game had been ample at the time of the immigration of the hunters. The loss of any weapon which would kill at a distance must naturally have appreciably altered the tactics of the islanders.

It is true that, on some groups of islands, fighting at close quarters, which all primitive peoples dread, was avoided by the adoption of the slingstone or the throwing club in place of the arrow; but, as a rule, the transition to hand-to-hand fighting with spear, axe, or club was inevitable. This always denotes an improvement in tactics, as is shown by the

**Evolution in Methods of Warfare**

classic examples of the Zulus in South Africa, who, merely from the method of attack in close order introduced by Tchaka, and the use of the stabbing spear as the decisive weapon, won the foremost place in the south-east of the Dark Continent. In Polynesia the new method of fighting certainly contributed to that bloodiness of the battles, both among the natives themselves and against the whites, which distinguishes its history from that of all other primitive races. The political consequences, from want of any suitable antagonist, could naturally not be so important here as in South Africa. Nevertheless, the comparatively rigid organisation of the majority of the Polynesians is certainly to a large degree the result of their tactics.

# THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE

ETHNOLOGY separates the population of Oceania into three large groups—the Melanesians, who inhabit the inner belt of coast from New Guinea to New Caledonia and Fiji; the Micronesians, on the Caroline, Marianne, Pelew, Marshall, and Gilbert islands; and the Polynesians, who inhabit the rest of the great world of islands, including New Zealand.

**The Island Races**

The question of the racial position, the connection and the origin of these three groups, has occupied scientific inquiry since the early days of their discovery, and has created a truly enormous literature, although no thoroughly satisfactory solution has hitherto been found. So far as the Melanesians are concerned, the question is indeed to be regarded as settled, since no one at the present day feels any doubt of their connection with the great negroid group of races. Even on the subject of the Micronesians there is a general consensus of opinion that they can no longer be contrasted with the Polynesians. They are seen to be a branch of the Polynesians, and that branch indeed which, on account of the close proximity of Melanesia, has received the largest percentage of negroid elements.

Thus it is only the Polynesian question which awaits solution. Nothing supports the view that the Polynesians grew up in their present homes. Such a theory is impossible on purely geographical grounds. We are left, therefore, with immigration from outside. The claims of America, on the one hand, and of Malaysia on the other, to be the cradle of the Polynesian race have each their supporters. Under the stress of more modern views on the penetration and wanderings of nations, the disputants have agreed in recognising a physical and linguistic connection with the latter region, without, however, denying ethnological relations with the former. The racial affinity of the Polynesians with the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago is firmly established on the strength of physical and linguistic resemblances. There is more difference of opinion as to the nature and amount of the foreign admixture. As matters stand, a negroid admixture can alone enter into the question. Even those who believe in the former racial purity of the Polynesians must allow such an admixture in the case of Micronesia. As the result of numerous modern observations, it appears probable that a similar admixture exists as far as Samoa and still farther; even remote Easter Island does not appear quite free from it.

A multitude of facts supports also the ethnological connection of Polynesia with America. The faith and religious customs in both regions rest as a whole on the same basis of animism and ancestor worship. In both we find the same rude cosmogony, the same respect for the tribal symbol, and the same cycle of myths, to say nothing of the numerous coincidences in the character of material culture possessed by them, and in the want of iron common to both. Ethnology, in face of these coincidences, is in a difficult position. Few ethnologists still venture to think of any direct migration from America. It is certain that the Polynesians were bold sailors, and often covered long stretches in their wanderings, voluntary or involuntary; but to sail over forty to sixty degrees of longitude without finding an opportunity to put into port anywhere would surely have been beyond their powers, and still more beyond the powers of their forefathers.

**Origin of the Island Peoples**

Under these circumstances the most satisfactory assumption is that of a large Mongoloid primitive race, whose branches have occupied the entire "East" of the inhabited world, East Asia, Oceania, and America. This theory extricates us at

once from the difficulty of explaining those coincidences, but it does not directly solve the problem of the great differences in the civilisations belonging to the different branches of the Mongoloid family. It seems audacious to explain it by absorption of influences of the surrounding world, but the theory offers possibilities.

**Causes of Primitive Wanderings**

The first really historical activities of the Oceanians are their migrations. At the present day they are the most migratory people among the primitive races of the world, and voyages of more than a thousand nautical miles are nothing unusual among them. There are various incentives to such expeditions, such as the wish and the necessity of trading with neighbouring tribes, starvation, which is not infrequent on the poor islands, political disturbances, and a pronounced love of roaming. This last is the most prominent feature in the character of the Malayo-Polynesian, which has, more than anything else, scattered this ethnological group over a region of 210 degrees of longitude, from Madagascar to Easter Island, and over 80 degrees of latitude. Compared with this, the other causes of migration shrink in general significance, although locally they are often of primary importance and have had great bearing on history. The number of the journeys known to us is not great; the interval since the opening up of the island world of Oceania is too short, and the region is too remote. Yet the number is sufficient to bring more than one characteristic of the past history of these races clearly before our eyes.

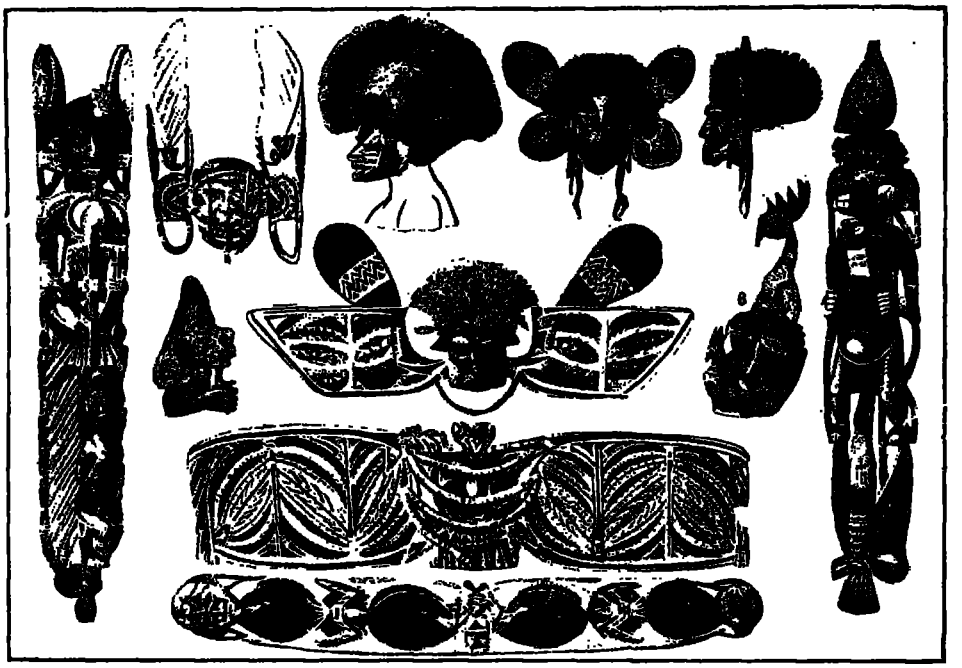
In the first place the frequent involuntary voyages, when the seafarers were driven far out of their course, teach us that the winds and currents have not set from east to west with that persistency which old and celebrated theories maintain, and that therefore no natural phenomena hindered the Polynesian from spreading from west to east. Under these conditions, the way from the west as far as distant Easter Island was not barred. Secondly, the frequency of these voyages allows us to understand the true character of the Pacific Ocean. It is no waste of waters, where islands and archipelagoes, like the oases in a desert, lie remote and solitary; but a sea full of life, where the constant traffic prevents any one group of islands from being absolutely cut off from the outer world.

**Legends of Ancestral Migrations**

The ocean has not presented this feature for the last few centuries only; it has been characteristic of it since the day when the first keel touched the shores of Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island. We have the evidence of the aborigines themselves for this. Their rich store of legends hinges on their old wanderings, and as it deals more particularly with the earliest voyages it gives us a welcome insight into the original relations of the islanders with one another and with the outside world; it is thought that the question of the original home of the Polynesians might be solved in this way. The part which the land of Hawaiki under its various names—Sawaii, Hawaii, Hapai, Hevava, Awaiki and others—plays in the ancestral legends of most Polynesians is familiar even beyond the circle of ethnologists. It recurs among the Maoris of New Zealand, in Tahiti, Raiatea, Rarotonga, the Marquesas, Hawaii, and elsewhere. To see in it a definite and limited locality, from which the streams of emigration flowed at different times to the most varied directions of the ocean, appears impracticable in view of the fact that the geographical position of Hawaiki is not accurately fixed in all the traditions, but varies considerably; it even meets us as the land of ghosts, the western land where the souls sink together with the sun into the lower world.

**Polynesia Before the Europeans**

Nevertheless, the investigation of the primitive period in Polynesian history is benefited in several instances by tracing out the Hawaiki myth; especially if this task be supplemented by a review of the anthropological, ethnographical, and geographical evidence. We may then assume with great probability that the island of Savaii, which belongs to the Samoa group, was the starting point of the migration of the Maoris to New Zealand. Under the name of Hawaii it also forms the starting point of the inhabitants of Raiatea and Tahiti. To this fact, again, point the legends of the Marquesas and the Hawaii group; partly also of Rarotonga, which, on its side, as the "nearer Hawaiki" of tradition, served the Maoris as an intermediate station on the way to New Zealand, while it was a regular starting-place for the inhabitants of the Austral and Gambier islands. A final starting-point was the Tonga group.



THE REMARKABLE ART OF MELANESIA: SPECIMENS OF NATIVE CARVING

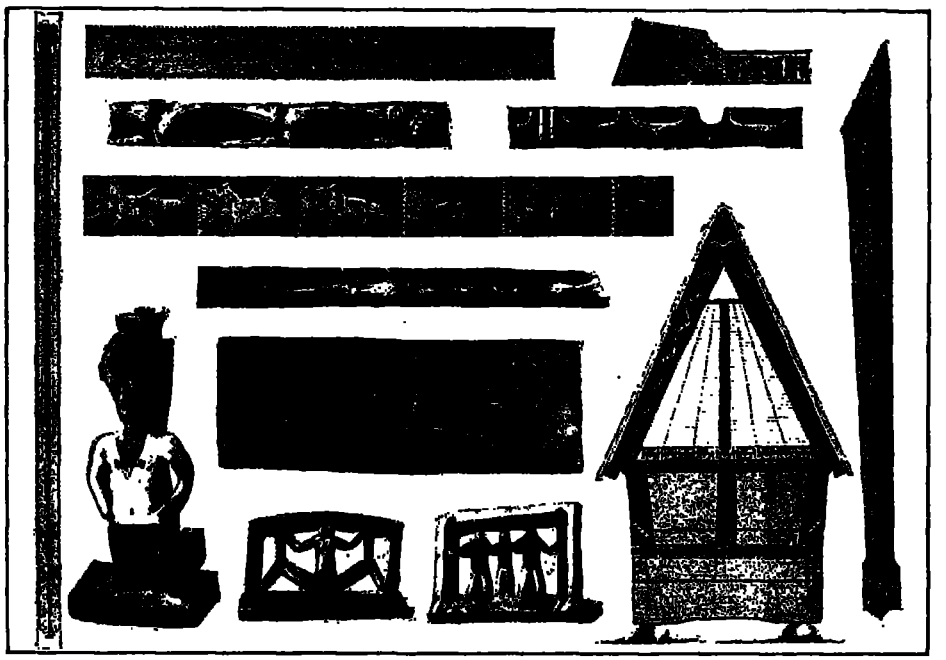
**The Melanesians were backward in political culture but their arts were highly developed. These examples of their carvings, chiefly from drawings made from specimens in European collections, are more graphic and realistic and display far more observation of Nature than those of the Micronesians, illustrated on the opposite page.**

Not only is the number of starting-points surprisingly small in comparison with the size of the territory occupied by the Polynesians, but the original relations among the several groups appear simple to an astonishing degree. Examined in the light of ethnology and history, this simplicity cannot be maintained. It is an ascertained fact as regards the Maoris that their immigration did not occur in the form of one single wave, but that fresh batches came from the north; and a very late subsequent immigration is specially recorded. The inhabitants of the Hawaii islands are connected with Tahiti by language, customs, and legendary travels; on the other hand, the place names show the enduring recollection of Samoa. Rarotonga is the focus of the entire remotest south, while it was itself peopled with settlers almost simultaneously from Samoa and Tahiti. In the end, Tahiti seems to have sent emigrants to Rarotonga and Hawaii, also to the Southern Marquesas, as the resemblance in language and customs proves.

**Relations of the Island Groups**

It is difficult to determine the date of these migrations, since these movements are a constant feature. Obviously, no reliance can be placed in the genealogical lists of the several islands, which vary from twenty to eighty-eight generations. History does not carry us very far; ethnology alone tells us that the dispersion of the Polynesians over the Pacific Ocean cannot go back to any remote period, since they have not had the time to develop any marked racial peculiarities. It can be only a question of centuries for New Zealand and many other countries. In the case of Tahiti, and perhaps Hawaii, the first settlement may be assigned possibly to an earlier date. But in no case need we go back more than a millennium and a half. The wanderings extended also to Melanesia, in the east of which, as a consequence of the distances, more settlements were planted than in the west. Fiji, in respect of social and political customs, shows almost as many Polynesian traits as its two neighbours, Tonga and Samoa, and has experienced a considerable infusion of Polynesian blood. In New Guinea, on the other hand, we find marked traces of this blood, but an almost total

**Comparative Lateness of Settlement**



DECORATIVE ART OF MICRONESIA: SPECIMENS OF NATIVE CARVING

**A comparison between the examples of Micronesian carving, illustrated above, and the Melanesian carvings shown on the opposite page gives evidence of a less free and imaginative art in the former, but a considerable feeling for decorative effect and genuine craftsmanship is to be seen by a careful inspection of the detail of these Micronesian objects.**

absence of Polynesian customs and political institutions. It can hardly be shown at the present day, when the Western Pacific contains so mixed a population, in what proportion migration has been deliberate or involuntary; but, doubtless, besides the frequent driftings to east and west, there were many cases of systematic colonisation. We thus get to know an aspect of the Polynesians which is not often represented among primitive peoples.

In Africa the only examples are the Wanyamwesi of Central German East Africa, who since the middle of the nineteenth century have colonised the whole equatorial east of the continent, and advanced their settlements far into the Southern Congo basin, and the Kioto in the Western Congo State.

# THE BEGINNING OF OCEANIC HISTORY

OUR knowledge of the history of Oceania goes scarcely beyond the discoveries of the island world, for the tradition of Polynesia, which goes considerably further back into the past, does not distinguish between fact and fiction. Nevertheless, even in Oceania it is possible to have a glimpse of the past. Here, as in Australia, we find remains of old buildings and sites whose nature presupposes certain definite political and social conditions then existent; but, besides this, we have adequate data in the information which the early explorers give as to the state of things they discovered. In the case of the Polynesians and Micronesians, as in that of the Australians, it admits of no doubt that their present stage of civilisation does not denote the highest point of their development, but that in many departments of national life a distinct retrogression has taken place. In Melanesia, on the other hand, where the civilisation does not even reach the present stage of the neighbouring peoples on the east, all evidence of a previous higher culture is wanting. Melanesia is, in this respect, like a hollow between an elevation in the west, the Malay civilisation, and a second somewhat lower

elevation in the east, the Polynesian civilisation.

This by no means implies that the culture possessed by its inhabitants was in itself inferior or lacked originality. On the contrary, the arts were highly developed in Melanesia; indeed, much of the material culture, and some branches of intellectual culture, surpass anything shown by the Micronesians at least. It is only in political respects that the Melanesian is behind. The cause of this is to be found primarily in the character of the negroid race, and, secondly, in the absence of any stimulus from outside. Where these causes are absent, as in Fiji, even the Melanesian has shown himself capable of political development.

**Three Degrees of Civilisation**

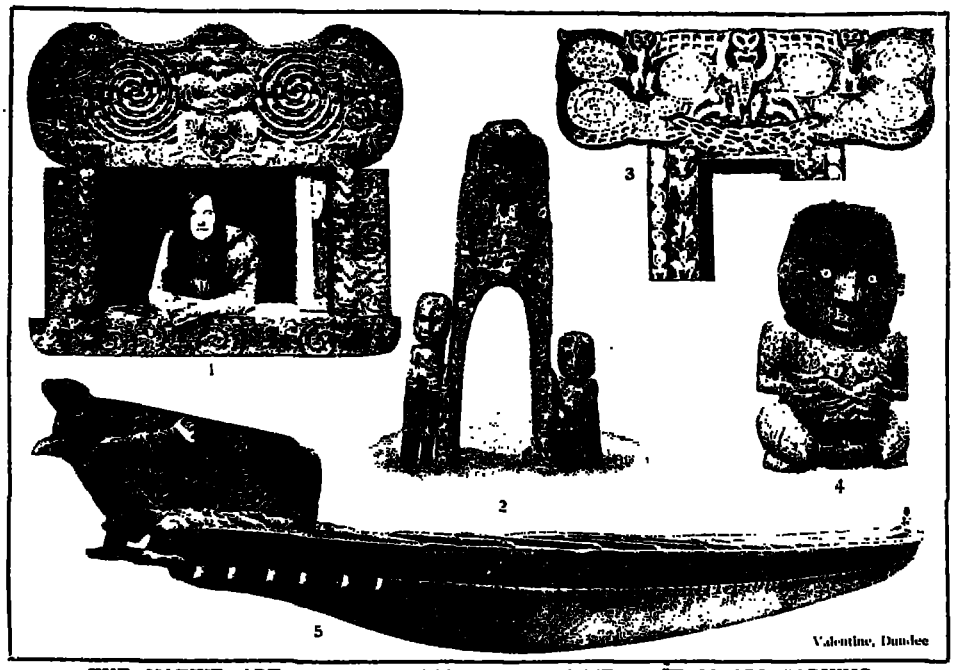
The decadence of the Polynesian and Micronesian civilisation is shown in two ways—first, in buildings and works of a size, mass, and extent which preclude all idea that they could have been erected by a population at the stage in which the first Europeans found them; and, secondly, in the political and social institutions, which bear every trace of decay. The South Sea is not poor in remains of the former class. On Pitcairn Island, which has long been deserted by all primitive inhabitants, the stone foundations of ancient temples are to be found even now; on Rapa old fortifications crown the hills, and on Huaheine a dolmen rises near a cyclopean causeway. Under the guano layers of the Christmas Islands roads skilfully constructed of coral-rag bear witness to an age of a greater spirit of enterprise, of a higher plane of technical skill, and of a more pronounced national life. Tinian, one of the Marianne group, has its colossal stone pillars, crowned with capitals, to mark the dwelling-places of the old and more vigorous Chamorro. But all this is nothing in comparison with the ruins of Nanmatal on Ponape, and the stone images on Rapanui in Easter Island. The decadence in the political and social field is not generally so obvious as that in technical skill; but it is incontestable everywhere, and has been distinctly more disastrous to the national development of the islanders. This is shown by the loss of the old patriarchal society, in which the king was reverenced by the people as a god; where he was the natural owner of all the land, and where the view prevailed that all was from him and all was for him. When Captain Cook and his contemporaries appeared in the South Sea, in many places hardly any trace of such a society remained, while in others it was rapidly disappearing. The ancient dynasties had either been entirely put aside and the states dissolved, or, if they still existed, only a faint gleam of their former glory was reflected on the ancient rulers. The old organisation of the people, with its strictly defined grades, had already been destroyed, and a struggle of the upper class for property and power had taken the place of the former feudalism. This effort had been everywhere crowned with success, and had mainly contributed to break up the rigid and yet universally accepted system. Finally, even religion entirely lost its ancient character. The original gods were indeed retained; but their number, at first limited, had been in the course of time indefinitely multiplied, since the gods created from the class of the high nobility were gradually put on a level with the older deities.

**Evidences of an Earlier Civilisation**

Thus the national and popular religion was changed into a superstitious worship of the individual. It is one and the same thing which destroyed the State and the religion of the Polynesians—the degradation of the old civil and religious authorities or the promotion of the formerly lower degrees. But in any case the abandonment of the old idea of a state was complete. The tokens of retrogression in Oceania, when collected, speak a clear language. They tell us, in the first place, that there must have been a time in the prehistoric period of the South Sea Islanders when an overgrowth of the population on the already settled islands made it necessary to send out colonies; we learn, further, that the period of colonisation must have also been the period of the highest development of culture.

**Religion Becomes Superstition**

Colonisation was possible only under the government of a rigid political organisation, of which we can at most discover a reflection in the subsequent life of the South Sea races. We may not assume a growth of technical knowledge on the settled islands, such as was requisite for the erection of large buildings; so that even in the field of material culture we can suppose the existence of only an




THE NATIVE ART OF NEW ZEALAND: SPECIMENS OF MAORI CARVING

1. Carved window frame with sliding sash at Rotorua Lake, South Island: the woman is a Maori guide. 2. Maori gods. 3. Carved portal of Maori house. 4. Figure from Lake Pukaki in South Island. 5. Maori canoe.

original and more universal standard of accomplishment. We thus find the phenomenon, interesting both from the historical and the geographical point of view, that the moment of the widest dispersion of a race denotes the beginning of its decadence. This phenomenon is not surprising if we take into account the nature of the homes of the race. It is easier for the population of small islands to attain a higher culture and a more strict political organisation than to maintain themselves at the stage which they inherited or brought with them. The narrow limits of space make a comprehensive scheme easy and possible, but involve the danger of a conflict between opposite parties, and thus the destruction of the existing system. None of the Polynesian islands escaped this fate, especially since the character of the people shows few traits of conservatism. Quarrels and disputes have been the chief and the favourite occupation of the Polynesians as long as we have known them. The decadence is the greatest where the island communities are the smallest, and where, therefore, destructive influences are most powerful; thus in the centre of the world of islands hardly a trace of the ancient culture has come down to us. When the Europeans appeared on the scene, marked traces of this culture—in one place a vigorous national life, in another stupendous monuments—were extant only on the outer belt, in Hawaii, New Zealand, and the remote Easter Island.

**Dispersion Promotes Decadence**

The fall of the Maoris is the best illustration of the rapidity with which the attainments of civilisation can be lost. At all times addicted to violence and intolerant of united effort, they split up the larger states of their twin islands into numerous mutually hostile and aggressive communities, from which every notion of a national unity and its effect in maintaining a civilisation has disappeared. At the same time the originally vigorous racial character lost more and more in moral restraint, and became more savage and cruel. The downfall of the ancient religion finally ensued. The old gods lost their personality, and were transformed into a multitude of forest and sea demons, unparalleled for extravagance and grotesqueness of form. Art and technical skill did not escape. As early as Captain Cook's time, it was no longer possible to produce carvings of the older kind.

**Evidences of Maori Decay**



**CAPTAIN COOK'S DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTH SEAS**

The three voyages of the famous navigator, Captain James Cook, were fraught with momentous consequences to his country and the world. In his first voyage (1768-71) he circumnavigated New Zealand and surveyed the east coast of Australia. During his second voyage (1772-75) he cruised among the Pacific islands. In his last voyage (1776-79) he discovered the Sandwich and other groups of islands, and was killed in an attempt to land on Hawaii, on February 14th, 1779.



# THE OCEANIC ISLANDS AND THEIR STORY

WE come now to the separate histories of the three groups of islands of which Oceania consists—Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia—beginning with the first, and treating them in the order named.

## MELANESIA

Melanesia, apart from Fiji, has no history properly so-called. We are acquainted merely with the treatment which the inhabitants have received at the hands of foreigners.

The chief cause of this phenomenon, which recalls the passivity of the Australians, is the slight political capacity of the negroid race. A second cause is that isolation from the outside world which can be partly attributed to the dreaded fierceness of the Melanesians. The more enterprising Polynesians have never shown any great inclination to attempt colonisation on a large scale in Central and Western Melanesia, and the whites have not entered on the task of opening up these islands with the zeal which they have shown in the rest of Oceania since the days of Cook. Exploration and missionary activity are tardy and timid in these parts, and European colonisation is still later in coming.

Notwithstanding this late beginning of serious encroachments from outside, the Melanesians came early into hostile contact with the whites. Out of the long roll of explorers, from J. Le Maire and W. Schouten (1616), past W. Dampier (1700) and J. Roggeveen (1722) to L. A. de Bougainville and De Surville (1768), there is hardly one who had not been guilty of the greatest cruelties to the natives. Even Cook, in 1774, ordered the natives of Erromango to be shot down with cannon for some trifling misconduct. But the nineteenth century has behaved still more outrageously to these islands. Their wealth in sandalwood soon attracted numerous traders, English and American in particular, but also Polynesians. All these persons, who sought merely their own advantage, behaved like savages. They plundered peaceable tribes, and forced them to work as slaves on other islands; they cut down the valuable trees, and thus caused disputes with their owners, which generally ended in the defeat of the latter.

**Cruelties upon the Melanesians**

Extortions and unprovoked bombardment of villages were matters of daily occurrence. The traders captured a chief, and only released him at a ransom of a shipload of sandalwood; and once when the inhabitants of Fate in the New Hebrides fled from the crew of an English ship and a body of Tongan allies into a cave with wives and children, their opponents lighted a fire at the entrance and suffocated all the fugitives.

**A History Written in Blood**

The consequences of this treatment of the natives were soon seen. The warlike and able-bodied Melanesians returned blow for blow, and avenged the outrages committed by the whites upon their fellows when and where they could. Whoever was imprudent enough to land upon their coasts was murdered. It thus comes about that the history of the exploration of Melanesia down to the present day has been written in blood. Even missions have met with greater initial difficulties here, and found a harder task than anywhere else in the South Sea.

The long duration of racial struggles has produced the result that the national characteristics of Melanesia are no longer in their primitive integrity. New Guinea, where little more than the fringe of the island has been explored, has, indeed, suffered little, and the inhabitants of the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons have hitherto successfully repulsed any serious attack on their modes of life and thought or their material possessions. The state of things is less favourable in the more easterly archipelagoes, Santa Cruz, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Fiji. Here, undoubtedly, the stronger infusion of Polynesian blood has weakened the



Underwood & Underwood, London

**A TYPE OF MELANESIAN CANOE**

**These strangely constructed Reef Island canoes sail incredible distances among the Melanesian group, trading fish and coco-nuts for the products of the larger islands.**

powers of resistance of the population, while these groups have also been longest exposed to the brunt of the attacks of the whites. The result, as is always the case where the barbarian comes into touch with civilisation, has been a decline in the numbers, physique, and morals of the native population. This is most marked in New Caledonia, where the natives, under the influence of the French system of transportation, have sunk from a warlike and honour-loving nation, endowed with high intellectual gifts, into a ragged mob. It is difficult to form an idea of the numerical shrinkage, since the older accounts are mere estimates. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz have undoubtedly much diminished in numbers, a change which in Fiji can be proved by actual statistics.

FIJI

The great political capacity, judging by a Melanesian standard, of the Fiji Islanders can be traced to the strong admixture of Polynesian elements and the position of the archipelago, which lies advanced toward the east. Their history begins with those feuds which have played a part in all the Polynesian islands for centuries. In these wars, unimportant enough in themselves, the Europeans interfered about the beginning of the nineteenth century, without any political intentions at first. In 1804 twenty-seven convicts, escaped from Norfolk Island, took sides, sometimes with one, sometimes with another chief; but the crew of the slaver Eliza, which was wrecked on the cliffs of Nairi in 1808, had a still more decisive share in the course of events, since they possessed muskets. Their choice fell on the chief Naulivau of Mbau, who thus was enabled to overthrow the head of the "State" of Verata in Great Fiji, or Viti Levu. His successors remained in possession of the supreme power until 1874. After a reign full of military successes, which won him the surname Vuni Valu, meaning "root of war," Naulivau died in the year 1829. He was followed by his brother, Tanoa, one of the most ferocious cannibals whom Fiji ever knew.

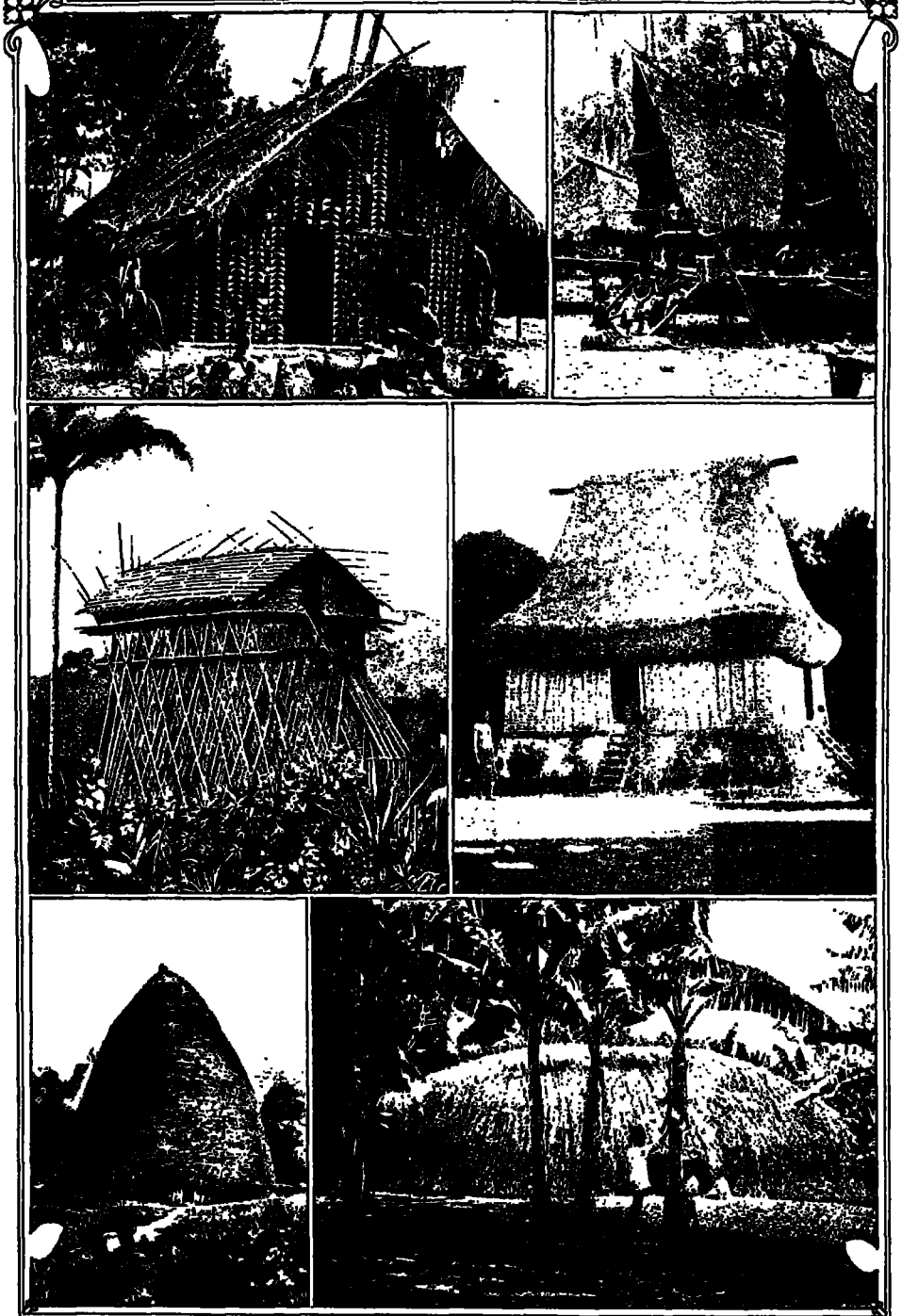
Under his son, Seru, better known by the name of Kakobau or Thakombau (1852-1883), the kingdom founded by the first Vuni Valu reached its greatest prosperity and extent, comprising almost the entire archipelago. His accession occurred at a time when the Fiji Archipelago had attracted, in more than one respect, the attention of the whites. The Wesleyan mission had obtained a footing here since 1835; in 1844 the Catholic mission also. Principally through the



Underwood & Underwood, London

**THE WORK OF AN EARTHQUAKE**

**This beautiful rock in Blanche Bay, New Britain, was thrown up by volcanic disturbance thirty years ago.**



SCENES OF VILLAGE LIFE IN THE ISLANDS OF MELANESIA

1. "Tambo" House, Laembay, Utupua, Santa Cruz. 2. Native houses, in the Bismarck Archipelago. 3. Aerial house in the New Hebrides. 4. Native house in the Fiji Islands. 5. Native village in New Caledonia. 6. Hurricane-proof house in Port Vila, Santa Cruz. Chiefly from photos by Underwood & Underwood.

activity of the former the old feuds had stopped, at any rate in the coast districts of Great Fiji; British, American, and other white traders were able to settle there in complete security. In 1847 the United States of America, in order to express their appreciation of the newly discovered field, established a consular agency there.

At the same time artful aspersions were cast on the Wesleyan mission in order to weaken British influence. In 1849, when the house of the consul, Williams, was burnt, the natives stole some of his property. Williams demanded from Thakombau compensation to the amount of "three thousand dollars, twelve and a half cents." An unprejudiced witness informs us this "exact" sum was not justified,

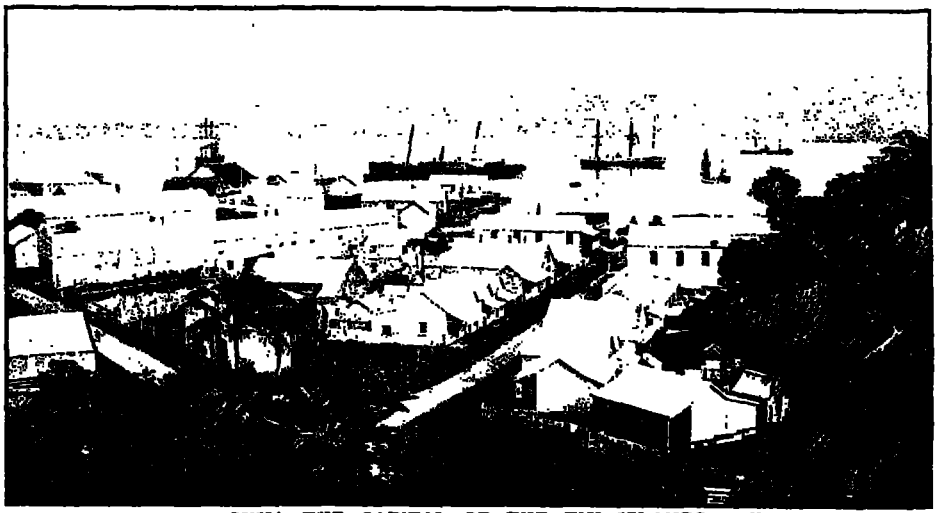


THAKOMBAU, A FAMOUS KING OF FIJI
He ruled over the greater part of the Fiji Islands from 1852 to 1883, and was nominally Christian. Under him, the islands reached their greatest prosperity, and he voluntarily ceded his country to the British Government in the year 1871.

and was not paid. In the next year, in consequence of other thefts, it had mounted to five thousand and one dollars and thirty-eight cents. Williams laid this demand before the commanders of two American warships, with a request for support, but it was rejected. In 1855, however, Captain Boutwell, who had been sent to Fiji for a renewed inquiry, ordered Thakombau to pay capital and interest forthwith. The sum to be paid was fixed in a second letter at 30,000 dollars, and threats of force were held out. Finally, Boutwell sent for the chief on board his ship, demanded 45,000 dollars, and threatened to hang him. Thakombau then signed the agreement.

Complications, also, were threatened with France. Fourteen years after the unsuccessful attempt at settlement in 1844, French Catholic missionaries tried once more to gain a footing on Viti Levu. Since Thakombau, who in 1854 had adopted Christianity, partly from conviction, but mostly on political grounds, felt the impossibility of any longer maintaining his position, especially as his relations with Tonga were very strained at that time, he determined to escape from his difficulties and cede his land to England. On October 12th, 1858, he made a treaty with the British Consul, Pritchard, to which all the chiefs of the island subsequently agreed, to the following effect: Thakombau, who wished to become a British subject but to retain his title and suzerainty, promised 200,000 acres of land; in return, Britain was to take over the American debt. The British Government, from the wish not to cause unpleasantness with America, refused the offer. Now, not only did the Americans immediately press their claims, but Tonga demanded a large sum of money for the assistance which it professed to have previously rendered. The monarch in his difficulty accepted the proposal of the Melbourne Polynesian Company in 1868, which promised to satisfy the claims of America in return for the grant of the land offered to the British Government. The flourishing condition of the German trading firms, which had been active in the country since 1860, had drawn public attention to Fiji. On conclusion of the treaty, the company paid the Americans £9,000. In return, it at once received 110,000 acres.

During these negotiations there had been incessant disputes among the natives themselves; at the same time there had been quarrels between them and the numerous white immigrants. In order to put an end to this state of things, Thakombau in 1871 formed a constitutional government, with a Ministry composed of twelve chiefs, a legislative council chosen by the whites, and a supreme court. So long as the interests of the Government and the colonists coincided, this artifice, frequently tried in the South Sea, was



SUVA, THE CAPITAL OF THE FIJI ISLANDS Underwood & Underwood

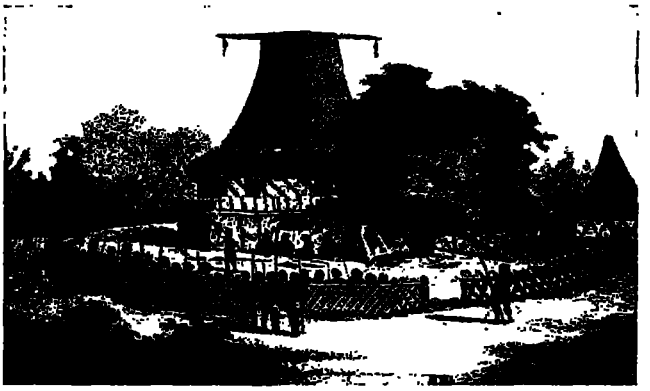
This, the chief town of Fiji, is on the south coast of Viti Levu, the largest island in the group. It is the centre of trade, and in 1906 had a population of 1,121 Europeans. It is extremely healthy, the temperature varying from 93° to 61°.

harmless in results; but when the whites were required to pay taxes, they simply ignored the laws. The public debt soon grew to £80,000. Thakombau saw no alternative left him but to renew the offer of his land to Great Britain, but this time as a gift. England at first refused it again, and only changed her purpose from the fear that other Powers—America, or Germany, which was interested just then in the enterprise of the Godeffroys—might close with the offer. On September 30th, 1874, England accepted Thakombau's offer, which had actually in the interval been made to the German Empire and declined by it. Fiji became a British Crown colony. England took over all the debts, and paid Thakombau a yearly allowance until his death in 1883. The sales of land completed before the British annexation were not at once recognised, but gradually tested; in 1885, more than ten years later, the Germans concerned were compensated with a small solatium of £10,620.

**Fiji Islands become British Crown Colony**

**Settlement of German Claims**

In the spring of 1902 Fiji concluded a separate federal treaty with New Zealand. The individual islands in the Fiji group number over 200, and of these some 80 are inhabited. The total area of the islands is 7,435 square miles. The population is estimated at 148,891 of whom 2,500 are Europeans, and over 48,000 Indians. The largest islands are Viti Levu (4,250 square miles) and Vanua Levu (2,600 square miles). The government is in the hands of a governor appointed by the British Crown, and assisted by an Executive Council. There is also a Legislative Council consisting of ten official members, six elected members, and two native members. For native government the colony is divided into provinces, which are administered through native chiefs. In 1912 the revenue was £283,947, and the expenditure £268,158. The chief products of the islands consist of sugar cane, coco-nuts, bananas, maize, tea, tobacco, and rice, and



FIJIAN TEMPLE, FORMERLY A SCENE OF CANNIBALISM

there are several sugar mills, a tea factory, a soap manufactory, and some saw mills. There is regular communication with Australia, New Zealand, Tonga and Samoa, Honolulu and Canada.

MICRONESIA

**Village Feuds and Decadence**

The small average size of the Micronesian islands has not prevented the inhabitants from developing a peculiar, and, in many respects, a higher, culture than their kinsfolk in the east and south. The several localities have, indeed, proved too limited for any development of political importance. The only events to be recorded are the usual feuds between the hostile village communities, although, judging by the ancient buildings and terraces on the Pelews, on Ponape, and the Marianne Islands, the conditions for a politically organised activity must have been far more favourable in earlier times than at the present day. It is at present impossible to determine whether the decadence of the Pelews and the Carolines is due to other reasons than the antagonism of conflicting interests produced by the cramped space.

On the other hand, the process of disintegration on the Marianne Islands can be accurately traced. All accounts from the period anterior to the beginning of the Spanish conquest and conversion speak in the highest terms of the condition of the islands, their high stage of civilisation and large population. Guam was compared to an immense garden, and in 1668, at the beginning of the Jesuit mission, contained 180 splendid villages. The total number of the Chamorro, as the aborigines were called by the Spaniards, is reckoned variously; a favourite estimate is 200,000, but even 600,000 has been given; the lowest calculation does not sink below 40,000.

In addition to an advanced agriculture, which, notwithstanding primitive tools, could boast of cultivating rice, we find an excellently developed art of navigation, a knowledge of pottery, a regulated calendar, and so forth. The Spaniards destroyed all this in a few years. According to an accurate calculation, in 1710, forty-two years after the arrival of the Jesuit father Sanvitores, there were 3,539 Chamorro still left; in 1741 there were 1,816. Their rapid diminution was caused by the fierce fights which broke out so soon as the freedom-loving inhabitants perceived that conversion in the ultimate resort aimed at subjecting them to the Spanish yoke. The census of 1741 brought home to the Spaniards the magnitude of the devastation wrought by them. In order to make up for the alarming mortality they introduced Tagals from the Philippines. The number of the inhabitants after that increased; in 1783 it amounted to 3,231 souls; in 1803 to 4,303; in 1815 to 5,406; and in 1850 to more than 9,000. But an epidemic of smallpox swept off the population in 1856. It had risen again to 5,610 only in 1864, and at the present day it reaches to about double that figure. The reckless extermination of the people is almost the least evil which the Spaniards perpetrated on the Chamorro; the annihilation of the national characteristics was still worse. At the present day no more traces are left of the old culture, with its buildings, its navigation, its agriculture, and technical skill, than of the old strong and proud physique of the inhabitants. In place of a love of freedom the miserable half-caste people of to-day show a dull indifference, while lethargy has taken the place of industry, and an unthinking use of Christian customs is substituted for a frank paganism. Next to the Tasmanians no people in the South Sea can have felt more deeply the curse of contact with the Europeans than the Chamorro. An account of the history of the Polynesians presents difficulties, in so far as every separate group has its own history. It is the exception to find any points of connection between neighbouring archipelagoes. This necessitates the separate treatment of the larger and more important groups, at any rate, although certain broad characteristics recur regularly. Since this phenomenon is still more marked in the case of the smaller and



A YOUNG KING AND QUEEN OF THE MARQUESAS

**The Curse of the White Man**

less densely peopled archipelagoes, whose importance is slight, we shall abandon the task of any detailed description, and refer the reader for their most interesting features to the chapter on missionary work.

Within the region of Polynesia the Hervey, Tubuai, Society, Tuamotu and Marquesas Islands form a mass which stands out apart from the other clusters. This purely external grouping has, it is true, no geological foundation, but justifies the inclusion of the archipelagoes under the general title of East Polynesia, although the relations of the groups among themselves belong mostly to prehistoric or very early times.

TAHITI

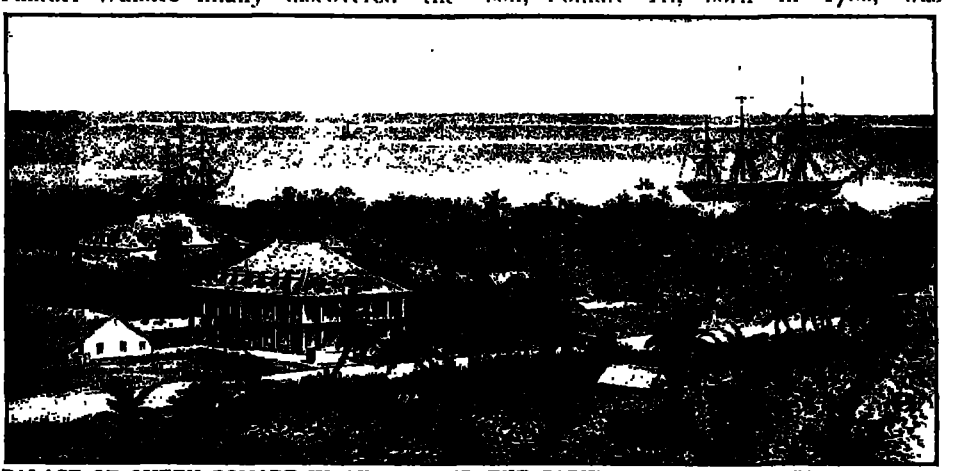
The history of East Polynesia, whether native or colonial, is connected mainly with the double island of Tahiti. It is the only focus of an independent development, and also the natural starting-point and centre of the French Colonial Empire in East Polynesia. When Samuel Wallace finally discovered the island on June 19th, 1767, he found three states there, which were fighting savagely for the upper hand. The Spaniards took possession of the island on January 1st, 1775: but they soon abandoned it again after the death of their captain, Domingo de Bonechea, on January 26th. In 1789, the mutineers of the Bounty landed on Tahiti. Some preferred to remain there, took the side of the king, Otu, or Pomare, as he preferred to call himself, and thus enabled him to extend his sovereignty over the other islands of the archipelago.



QUEEN POMARE AND HER HUSBAND

This queen of Tahiti assumed power in 1827, and reigned for fifty years. In her time the French took possession.

The first English missionaries landed there on March 7th, 1797, and were destined soon to play a large part in the political life of Tahiti. In 1802 Pomare carried away the sacred Oro figure from the Marae at Atahuru, the possession of which was fiercely contested, and which he was compelled to surrender. He died suddenly on September 3rd, 1803, and his son, Pomare II., born in 1780, was



PALACE OF QUEEN POMARE IV. AT PAPEETE, THE CAPITAL OF TAHITI, IN THE YEAR 1870

The residence of the French Governor is seen immediately beyond the Royal Palace

forced to fly. He took up his abode on Murea, the headquarters of the Christian mission. In July, 1807, he crossed with a number of Christians over to Tahiti, surprised his enemies, and massacred them so relentlessly that the whole island rose against him and the missionaries, and drove them back to Huahine and Murea. But in the battle at Narii—November 12th, 1815—King Pomare II., who had become a Christian on July 12th, 1812, completely defeated his enemies; the other islands of the archipelago adopted Christianity in consequence. Pomare crushed the power of the nobles, and gave the islands at the end of 1818 a new and written constitution. He died on November 30th, 1821. Pomare's infant son died on January 11th, 1827. His sister Aimata, a girl of seventeen, then mounted the throne as Pomare IV.—or Pomare Wahine I.—while her aunt, Ariipaia, remained regent, in accordance with custom.

**Massacre by a "Christian King"**

The reign of Aimata is marked by an overflowing tide of calamity, which soon burst on Tahiti, and ended in the loss of its independence. It began with the attempt of the Catholic Church—made in November, 1836, from the Gambier Islands—to gain a footing in Tahiti. In consequence of a law introduced by the British preachers of the Gospel, the French missionaries were forbidden to land; they therefore appealed to France for aid. On August 27th, 1838, Captain Abel Dupetit-Thouars appeared off Papeete with the frigate Venus, in order to demand satisfaction. He insisted upon an apology under the sign manual of the queen, and 2,000 piastres in Spanish money. The queen was forced to comply. In April, 1839, Captain Laplace demanded that the Catholic Church should be granted equal privileges with the Protestant, and that a building site for a church should be conceded. In September, 1842, Dupetit-Thouars, who had returned, once more expressed extravagant "wishes" to the Government, and, when they could not be granted, proclaimed a French protectorate in defiance of the protests of the queen and the English missionaries.

**Aggression by France, and Its Results**

When a Tahitian popular assembly, relying on the intervention of the British Captain Nicholas, declared for Britain and Pomare IV. (1843), Dupetit-Thouars on November 6th deposed the queen, and threw into prison the British Consul Pritchard, in whose house she had taken refuge. The storm of indignation roused in England by this procedure forced France in 1844 to reinstate Queen Pomare IV.; but the protectorate over the island was retained. It was only after a three years' war, waged with great fury on both sides, that the Tahitians submitted, on February 6th, 1847, and the queen returned from Murea to Papeete.

Pomare IV. died, after a reign of fifty years, on September 17th, 1877. Her son, Pomare V., abandoned all his imaginary sovereign rights to France on June 19th, 1880, in return for an annuity of £1,000, and died in 1891.

The political development has not been favourable in any way to the preservation of the national existence. In Cook's time the inhabitants were estimated at 120,000, a figure far too high, but one which in any case denotes an unusual density of population; in 1912 the numbers hardly reached 11,000. The introduction of disease, immorality, and drunkenness has taught the Tahitians a bitter lesson about the "blessings" of civilisation. Tahiti, as one of the French colonies in the Eastern Pacific, is administered by a governor assisted by a Privy Council and an Administrative Council. The island has an area of about 600 square miles. The chief town is Papeete, with a population of 4,282, of whom 2,490 are French. The chief products are copra, sugar, rum, pearls and mother of pearl. Coco-nuts, bananas, oranges, and sugar cane grow luxuriantly, especially near the coast. There is regular steamer communication with San Francisco, New Zealand, and Australia. In 1912 the imports were of the value of about £309,887, and the exports of £339,254.

**"Blessings" Attending Civilisation**

THE ISLAND GROUPS AROUND TAHITI

The history of the island groups which cluster round Tahiti, the Society, Tuamotu, Marquesas, the Cook, and Tubuai, or Austral, Islands, is not without some anthropological, political, and religious interest. The picture presented to the discoverers was everywhere the same; war and discord prevailed, limited usually to the separate islands and groups. The warlike inhabitants of the Tuamotu Islands



THE FAMOUS STONE IMAGES AT RONORORAKA IN EASTER ISLAND

undertook, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, bold expeditions to other islands, plundering and carrying off the inhabitants as captives, until a stop was put to their proceedings by the influence of Tahiti.

**Difficulties of Religious Workers**

The relations between the natives and the Europeans in these parts were everywhere due to the instrumentality of the missions. It would have been well if the matter had rested with the introduction of one denomination only. But the Protestant missionaries were soon followed on every group by Catholics under the protection of France. The inevitable result was an effort on the Protestant side to keep the intruders off, and on the side of the French Catholics to gain a religious and political footing. In all this the native was the scapegoat. Any infectious diseases which the traders had not introduced were communicated by the crews of men-of-war. The French tricolour now floats over the whole large group of islands, and the Romish propaganda has succeeded, though not to the full extent desired, in breaking down the undisputed power of Protestantism. European civilisation has diminished the number of inhabitants and has put a mere caricature in the place of a nationality which, despite many dark traits, was primitive and vigorous.

EASTER ISLAND

Easter Island, or Rapanui, as the Polynesians call the most remote islet of the vast island world, is, with its area of forty-five square miles, one of the smallest high islands of the Pacific Ocean. Nevertheless, it draws our attention on account of one of the weightiest problems of ethnology and thus of the history of mankind. If any connection at all exists between Polynesians and Americans, we must regard Easter Island as the most easterly pier in the bridge. There is nothing in the ethnography of Easter Island which supports such a theory, Salmon, the Tahitian who accompanied the German Hyena expedition of 1882 under Lieutenant-Captain Geiseler, and the American Mohican expedition of 1886, reported a story of the natives of Easter Island, according to which they are supposed to have come in a large boat from one of the Galapagos Islands with the trade-wind and to have landed at Anakena in the north of the island; but he did not disguise the fact that this tradition was contrary to the ideas of other natives, who maintained that there had been an immigration from the west. The architecture of the island is supposed to show resemblances to buildings in Central and South America; but the simple huts of the Easter Islanders are not

**Peopling of Easter Island**

to be compared with those colossal erections. Again, the construction of the famous stone images, some fifteen feet high and made of lava, extends to comparatively recent periods, when there can be no possible idea of America's influence; besides this, productions of similar size, although not of quite the same character, were nothing extraordinary among the other Oceanians, at least in earlier times. For this reason the modern relations between Easter Island and America are all the more frequent. Intercourse with the whites generally has, indeed, only brought the islanders misery and destruction hitherto. The beginning of the "mission of civilisation" is marked by the landing, on April 6th, 1722, of the Dutchman, Jacob Roggeween, who ordered the natives to be fired upon without any reason whatever. He found the island then most prosperous and densely populated, an appearance which it has long since lost. The natives were possibly too friendly and yielding to the whites. In 1805 the ship Nancy, from New London, which had been engaged in seal fishery at Mas-a-fuera, south-west of Juan Fernandez, came to Rapanui and carried away twelve men and ten women after a desperate fight. The men, when, three days after, they were released from their chains on the open sea, sprang overboard immediately, in order to reach their home by swimming; but the women were carried to Mas-a-fuera. The crew of the Nancy is said to have made several subsequent attempts at robbery. The American ship Pindos later carried away as many girls as there were men on board, and on the next morning as a pastime fired at the natives collected on the beach.

**Coming of the Dutch**

The most calamitous period began in 1863. Peruvian slave dealers then established a depôt on Easter Island in order to impress labourers for the guano works in Peru from the surrounding archipelagoes; for this purpose they carried away the majority of the inhabitants of the island. Most of them were, however, brought back at the representations of the French Government; but, unfortunately, smallpox was introduced by them and caused great ravages. In 1866 Catholic missionaries began their work, but they left the island after a few years, accompanied by some faithful followers, and went to Mangarewa. The last reduction in the number of the population was effected by the deportation of 400 Easter Islanders by a Tahitian firm to Tahiti and Murea, where they were employed as plantation labourers.

**Slavery and Smallpox**

The population has not been able to bear such frequent and heavy drains on its vitality. Estimated by Cook at 700 souls, by later travellers at 1,500, and numbering before 1860 some 3,000, it has dwindled at the present day to 150, whose absorption in the mass of the immigrant Tahitians, Chilians, and others is only a question of time. Since 1888 Easter Island has been used by Chili as a penal colony.

PITCAIRN

The history of Pitcairn, an isolated island lying far to the south-west of the Tuamotu, is, during the period which we can survey, detached from the framework of native history; its personages are almost entirely European immigrants. Pitcairn is one of the few islands which were uninhabited when the Europeans discovered them, although numerous remains in the form of stone images, relics of Marae, stone axes, and graves with skeletons, attest that the island was once populated.

**Evidences of Earlier Inhabitants**

The modern history of the island begins with the mutiny of the crew of the Bounty against their captain, Bligh, 1779, as related in the story of Australia. While the latter steered with his eighteen companions in his open boat to Batavia, the twenty-four mutineers sailed first to Tahiti. A number of them remained behind there, while eight men, under the leadership of the helmsman Christian, accompanied by six Tahitian men and twelve women, set sail in January, 1790, for the uninhabited island of Pitcairn. In order to prevent any escape from the island, Christian burnt the Bounty, whose tall masts might have betrayed the refuge of the mutineers. The beginning of the community was at once marked by disputes and quarrels; the men were killed in fighting, and in 1801, John Adams, aged thirty-six—who died in March, 1829—was the only man on the island, with some women and twenty children.

Adams, realising by the previous course of affairs the danger which threatened the little society, struck out other paths. By his care in educating the young generation a tribal community was

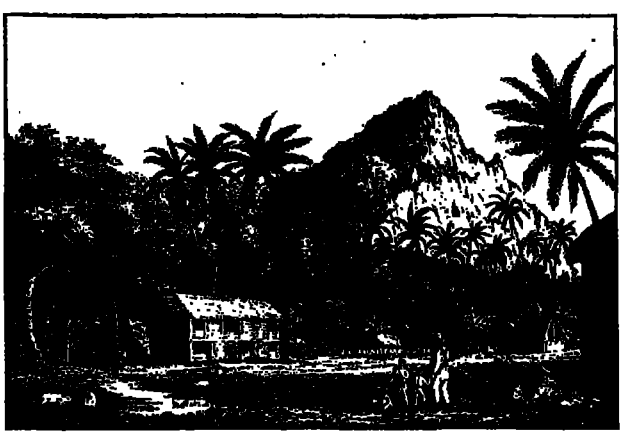
developed which united many of the good qualities of the Europeans with the virtues of the Polynesians, and by its sterling character and high morality, won the sympathies of Great Britain to no small extent, especially since these colonists regarded themselves as Englishmen and spoke English as familiarly as Tahitian. Great Britain has always watched over the welfare of this little society. The limited water supply of the island having threatened to prove insufficient for the growing numbers, the eighty-seven inhabitants then living were removed by the British Government to Tahiti in 1831; but most of them soon returned to Pitcairn. When, in 1856, in consequence of hurricanes, it became difficult to find food for the once more rapidly increasing population, 187 of the 194 settlers were removed to the then uninhabited Norfolk Island. The majority remained there, and increased and prospered. In 1871 the number had risen to 340 souls; in 1891 it reached 738 souls; and, according to the last account, it is now about 900 souls. Some, however, this time also, could not live in a strange island, and returned to Pitcairn, where their number in 1879 had again risen to 79 souls. The population of Pitcairn at various periods was as follows: 1800, 29; 1825, 66; 1831, 87; 1837, 92; 1841, 114; 1856, 194; 1864, 43; 1873, 76; 1879, 93; 1884, 104; 1898, 142; 1901, 126; 1907, 144. Contrary to the disquieting rumours circulated in 1896, to the effect that Pitcairn no longer supplied the requirements of human inhabitants, the population is thriving at the present day.



CHILDREN OF THE BOUNTY MUTINEERS

George Young, son of Young the midshipman, with his child and wife, Hannah Adams, daughter of John Adams.

The size of the island is not more than three miles long from east to west and two miles broad from north to south. There is a range of steep hills, the highest being Outlook Ridge, which is 1,008 feet high. The village of Adamstown is on a plateau about 400 feet above sea-level. Bounty Bay is the best of the three landing places, but even it is dangerous by reason of the violence of the sea and the currents. The climate is rainy but somewhat uncertain, hence the danger of drought. The chief food of the islanders is the sweet potato, but pine-apples, bananas and yams grow abundantly.



HOME OF JOHN ADAMS ON PITCAIRN ISLAND

The chief of the remaining islands of Polynesia — Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand—are treated independently at greater length in the following chapters.





# HAWAII: BEGINNING AND END OF A KINGDOM

THE Hawaiian group of islands, otherwise called the Sandwich Islands, have a total area of 6,449 square miles. The chief members of the group are Hawaii (4,015 square miles), Maui (728 square miles), Oahu (598 square miles), Kauai (547 square miles), Molokai (261 square miles), Lanai (139 square miles), Niihau (97 square miles), and Kahoslawe (69 square miles).

The history of Hawaii begins for us with its discovery by Captain Cook; all that took place on it previously bears the impress of myth. The legends mention sixty-seven ancestors of Kamehameha I., and place therefore the beginning of the settlement of Hawaii at a period which would approximately correspond to the sixth century of the Christian era. As a matter of fact, human bones have been discovered under old strata of coral and lava streams; in any case, with such a system of chronology a large margin of error must be allowed for. Far more important is the exceptional evidence for the solution of the question of the origin of the native people. A large mass of the traditions point to the Samoan Sawaii as the chief point of emigration, without necessarily excluding accretions from other groups of Polynesia. The recurrence of Samoan geographical names in Hawaii is an argument in favour of the legends. If we may judge by the frequent mention which they make of Tahiti and the Marquesas, the main route seems to have led over these islands.

**How Hawaii was Peopled**

It seems probable that some twenty generations after the first immigration—*i.e.*, about the eleventh century—a new wave of nations touched Hawaii, produced by a general movement in the island worlds of the South Sea, which, again, was due to the expulsion of Polynesian immigrants from the Fiji Islands. Into this period, therefore, fall, according to legend, the journeys of famous chiefs and priests to distant isles, rendered possible by the greater enterprise of the ancient races and the higher perfection of navigation at that time. The first and only attempt at oversea expansion gave way to a fresh period of isolation, which lasted at least into the sixteenth century, probably down to the date of Cook's landing. During this long period the Hawaiian people developed all its peculiar characteristics; then it was that those numerous states and societies were founded, which were mutually hostile.

**Coming of the Europeans**

The waves of war surged high in the fourteenth century, when King Kalaunuiohua tried for the first time to unite all the islands under his sceptre. The first intercourse with Europeans dates from the sixteenth century. In 1527 one of the three vessels of Don Alvarado de Saavedra is said to have been wrecked on the cliffs of South Kona, and in 1555 the Spanish navigator Juan Gaëtano is supposed to have discovered the Hawaiian Islands. This intercourse, even if it is based on fact, produced no results on the external and internal history of the country.

James Cook, on his landing (1778), found three states—Hawaii and Maui, both of which were governed by one ruler (Taraiopu, or Terriobu), since the ruler of Hawaii had married the queen-widow of Maui; and, thirdly, Oahu, to which Kauai and Niihau belonged. Not only were Oahu and Hawaii at war with each other, but all these states were riddled with internal dissensions. The task of reducing this chaos to order was reserved for Kamehameha I., or Tamea-Mea (1789–1819), who not only won more foreign successes than any other Polynesian ruler, but in intellectual gifts towered above the average of his race. He had distinguished himself in war as a young man, and national bards prophesied of him that he would one day unite the people. A few years after Cook's murder (February 14th, 1779) he began to put into practice his bold plans, on Hawaii at first, and afterwards on Maui (1781) and the other islands. Partly by his personal valour, partly with an army disciplined by the help of Europeans—to which after 1804 a fleet of twenty-one ships was joined—he attained

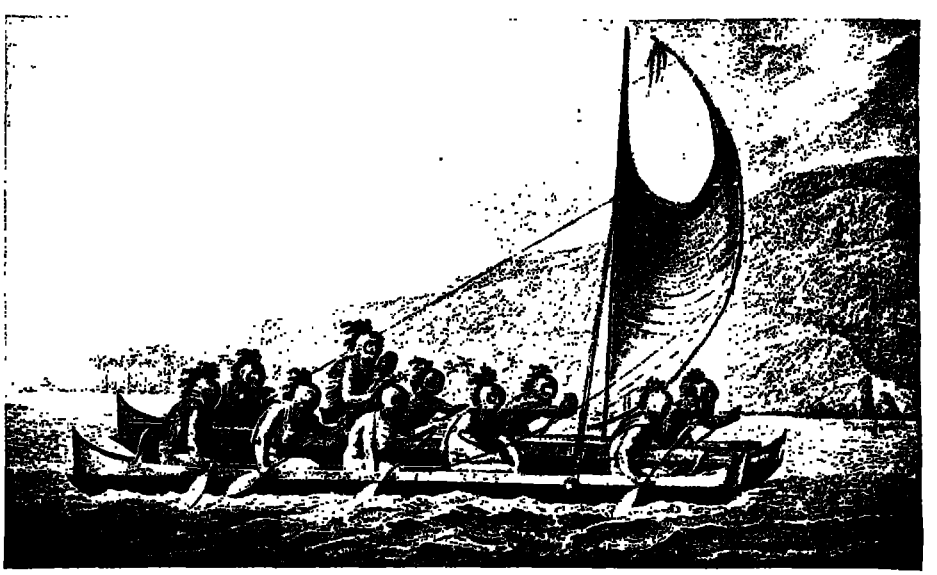
his object in 1795. After storming the fort "Pali" on Oahu, to which island Kamehameha is said to have crossed with 16,000 men, he proclaimed himself sole monarch of the Hawaiian Isles. The two northwest islands, Kauai and Niihau, then voluntarily submitted.

Like the Zulu king, Tchaka, and the Wanyamwesi leader, Mirambo, Kamehameha has been compared to great rulers of the Mediterranean sphere of civilisation. Turnbull places him by the side of Philip of Macedon, and Jarves calls him the Napoleon of the South Sea; to others he has suggested Peter the Great. He must have been a powerful personality. Adalbert de Chamisso was proud of the fact that he had shaken hands not only with General Marquis de Lafayette and Sir Joseph Banks, but also with the great Hawaiian. Kamehameha I. was great not merely in intellectual capacity, he was still greater by his moral strength and the power and purity of his will. If we take into account also his majestic bearing, which commanded respect, the vastness of his influence is at once accounted for.



SANDWICH ISLANDER WITH MASK

The course of Kamehameha's reign, after he had united his kingdom, was peaceful. It was for the Hawaiians an era of revolution in every field, though least so in that of social life. Kamehameha made no changes in the relations of the several classes of the people to each other and to the monarch. The lower class remained then, as formerly, in its strictly dependent and subservient condition, and he had further weakened the power of the nobility, which even before his time had been slight. A new feature was the external reputation gained by political union, and the growth of the people into a power unprecedented in the Pacific. This, at an early period for Oceania, had quickly turned the attention of the European Powers and of North America to the north of the Pacific Ocean, as is shown by the numerous British, Russian, American, and French expeditions.



DOUBLE CANOE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS WITH MASKED ROWERS

Reproduced from an engraving accompanying the original edition of Captain Cook's "Voyages"



KING KAMEHAMEHA I. AND HAWAIIAN WARRIORS IN 1815

The changes in the domain of culture and economics involved more momentous consequences for the future of the Hawaiian people. Only the higher classes of the people were materially Europeanised; the masses had to continue for some time in the old paganism and the ancient Polynesian semi-culture. Nevertheless it could not be long before the whole nation was subject to this change. Kamehameha neither intended nor suspected that it should take the form of a complete disintegration of the old national life. This decline was mainly produced by the introduction of European immigrants, who made their way into all the influential posts, and produced a temporary economic prosperity by transmarine commercial enterprise and a policy of tariffs; but at the same time their intimate relations with the natives were destined to destroy the old religion, the stronghold of Hawaiian nationality.

As long as Kamehameha held the reigns of government with the strong hand, the crash was delayed. Kamehameha was all his life a firm supporter of paganism, for only through a strict observance of the traditional doctrines was it possible in those times of ferment to retain the respect of the people for the person and power of the godlike monarch. His death, which occurred on May 8th, 1819, changed the situation. Liholiho, his son, who mounted the throne as Kamehameha II., immediately sank to be a puppet in the hands of his nobles, and especially of his co-regent Kaahumanu, the favourite wife of the late king, and his aged chief counsellor, Kaleimoku, the "Pitt of the South Sea." By their advice he abolished the ancient and revered custom of Taboo, and compelled women to share a large public banquet and to eat the pork which was forbidden them. The majority of the people gladly welcomed this step. The minority, who, under the lead of Kekuaokalani, a cousin of the king, remained true to paganism, were defeated in the sanguinary battle of Kuamoo; Kekuaokalani fell, together with his heroic wife, Manona. The destruction of the old temples and images, already initiated, was carried out with renewed zeal; nevertheless idolatry had many supporters in secret. The half-heartedness of the reforming policy was more unfortunate; the Hawaiians had been deprived of paganism, but nothing tangible was put into its place.

The visits of European and American

squadrons during this period induced the monarch to seek an alliance with Great Britain, particularly since Russia and the United States had already shown signs of establishing themselves permanently in the archipelago. Kamehameha I., in order to increase his dignity at home by the support of the great world power, had made over his kingdom to Britain in February, 1794, but his offer did not meet with any cordial response. In 1823, Liholiho and his consort, Kamamalo, went to London, in order in this way to anticipate the wishes of others. They both died in 1824 in England, but were buried in their native country. Liholiho's successor, his brother Keaukeauouli, was only nine when placed on the throne under the name of Kamehameha III. The regency during his minority was held by Kaahumanu and the old and tried Kaleimoku. Both found work enough in the succeeding years. It is true that Protestant missionaries had laboured since 1820 with good results; but all their efforts were stultified by a faction of morally and physically corrupt white immigrants, whose numbers grew from year to year. Drunkenness and immorality became so rampant that no improvement of the conditions could be hoped for except by legislation. Toward the end of the "twenties" the contest of the Christian missions for supremacy began on Hawaii. The Protestant mission was under the protection of the Americans; the Catholic gained ground only after threats from French warships. In the year 1837 the French extorted a declaration of universal religious liberty, which put an end to the violent persecutions often suffered by the Catholic Christians.



KING KAMEHAMEHA V. AND HAWAIIAN NOBLES IN 1870

The wise Kaleimoku died in 1827, and the death of the energetic queen-regent, Kaahumanu, followed in 1832. Kamehameha III. declared himself of full age in 1833, when he chose another woman, Kinau, for his co-regent, and nominated her son, Alexander Liholiho, heir to the throne.

The first newspapers printed in the Hawaiian language appeared in 1834. Churches and schools of every sort were erected in large numbers. At the same time the first sugar plantations were laid out, and silkworm breeding was introduced by the British. Soon cotton-growing was added as a new branch of industry. In October, 1840, the kingdom received its first constitution. It was drawn up by the American, Richards, and

presented a strange mixture of ancient feudalism and Anglo-American forms. The ministry consisted entirely of foreigners. Richards became Minister of Public Instruction; Wylie, a Scottish doctor, represented the Foreign Office. The finances were administered after 1842 by Dr. Judd, under whom the public revenue increased from 41,000 dollars in the year 1842, to 284,000 dollars in 1852.

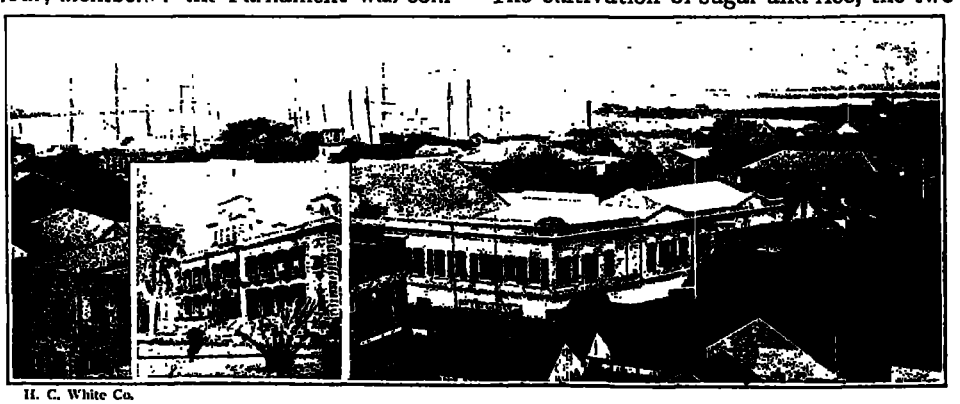
**Hawaii Under a Constitution**

In spite of religious toleration the disputes between the Protestant and Catholic clergy continued until the year 1837. They were often exploited by the French Consul in order to put strong pressure on the Hawaiian Government in favour of the Catholic mission. At the same time the British Consul took steps which seemed to point to an annexation of the islands by Great Britain. This induced the Hawaiian Government to obtain a guarantee of the independence of the kingdom from the United States of America in December, 1842, from France at the beginning of 1843, and from England on July 26th, 1843. The action of Lord Paulet, commander of the frigate Carys, in taking possession of the island (February 25th, 1843), on his own responsibility, was not recognised by the British Government.

The constitution of 1840 was changed in 1852, 1864, and on July 6th, 1887; with every revision it resembled more and more the usual European constitutional forms, especially when, in 1864, the old institution of the queen-regent was abolished. A privy council, consisting of the Ministers and a number of members nominated by the king, stood next to the sovereign. The Cabinet contained first five, and later four, members: the Parliament was composed of a House of Nobles and a House of Representatives. The most important offices have always been filled by foreigners.

Kamehameha III. died in December, 1854. His successor, Alexander Liholiho —Kamehameha IV., married to Queen Emma—then aged twenty, lost no time in placing himself on better terms with France, which, in defiance of the independence guaranteed in 1843, had overwhelmed the kingdom with difficulties and had repeatedly humiliated it. A final treaty between the two countries was effected in 1858. On the death of Kamehameha IV. in 1864, his elder brother, who had something of Kamehameha I. in him, succeeded to the crown. The first act of Kamehameha V. was to alter the constitution of 1864. In the next year an immigration bureau was instituted as a check on the constant shrinkage in the population; 500 Chinese were brought into the country, to be followed by the first Japanese in 1868. Finally, measures were taken to check the leprosy which had been introduced from China in 1853, and had spread alarmingly. Kamehameha V. died suddenly in 1872, the last of his family. For some months Lunalilo, a kinsman of the Kamehamehas, held the sceptre. After his death, which occurred on February 3rd, 1874, Colonel David Kalakaua, born on November 16th, 1836, in Honolulu, was elected king. In spite of his somewhat frivolous nature, he was a far-sighted monarch; in 1875 he concluded a commercial treaty with the United States of North America, which secured for his kingdom the most favourable tariffs and greatly promoted the prosperity of the islands. The cultivation of sugar and rice, the two

**Shrinkage in the Population**



H. C. White Co.

**GENERAL VIEW OF HONOLULU, CAPITAL OF HAWAII, SANDWICH ISLANDS**
**Showing in the inset the former palace of Queen Liliuokalani, now the United States Executive Office.**



King Kamehameha V. King Kalakaua I. Queen Liliuokalani.

Hills & Walery

THE LAST THREE NOTABLE RULERS OF HAWAII

principal exports, increased enormously, and indeed there was a general increase both in exports and in imports. But this revival of trade benefited only the whites. Want of labourers made it once more necessary to introduce foreigners. In 1877 the first Portuguese came into the country from the Azores; in 1884 there were some 10,000. At the same time increasing streams of Chinese and Japanese flooded the land; in 1890 there were counted 15,301, and 17,360.

The numerical proportion of these ethnologically undesirable Mongols to the native population has, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, steadily increased. In moving forward to the conquest of the Pacific, the yellow races have found Hawaii the best point of attack. The growth of economic and political relations with America during the reign of Kalakaua (1874–1891) has been as rapid and continuous as the Mongol immigration.

**Concession to the Americans**

As long ago as the winter of 1873–1874, Pearl Harbour, near Honolulu, was offered by Lunalilo to the Americans by way of compensation for commercial concessions. When the treaty of 1875 required to be renewed in 1887, the United States of North America claimed this place as a permanent possession; further, Hawaii was not to venture to conclude treaties with any other foreign Power without their consent, while they claimed the right to land troops in Hawaii at all times. The influence of the British residents prevented Kalakaua from conceding these humiliating conditions. The refusal of the American proposals signified, from an economic aspect, the beginning of a financial crisis, by which the Hawaiian dynasty was ruined.

Kalakaua died on January 20th, 1891, at San Francisco. The seventeen years of his reign had been outwardly rich in "progress." He had a small standing army at his disposition; Hawaii had obtained lines of railroads and steamships; palaces and lighthouses had been built and Honolulu lighted by electricity. Waterworks and telegraph lines had been constructed, and large stretches of barren country had been made cultivable by irrigation works.

**Record of a Reign**

The stage of European civilisation began, it must be confessed, with an enormous load of debt, attributable to the frivolity and the extravagance of the popularly beloved king, who had been married since 1863 to Kapiolani, but had no issue.

He was succeeded by his sister, Lydia Kamakaeha Liliuokalani, a woman of fifty-two, who was proclaimed Queen on January 29th, 1891. Her short reign ended with the downfall of the Hawaiian monarchy and the annexation of the island by the United States. Under the dominion of the new American tariff laws, which secured considerable export bounties to native sugar producers, Hawaii could no longer compete in the world market; exports rapidly fell off, and the national prosperity flagged. The foreign section of the population, which was dependent chiefly on the American trade, found this a reasonable cause for supporting more

boldly the idea of close connection with the United States. The results were dissensions in the Government, an over-rapid change in the constitution, which was intended to weaken the influence of the foreigners, and a threatened *coup d'etat* on the queen's part. The end was the deposition of the queen and the proclamation of Hawaii as a republic on January 17th, 1893. The efforts of the victorious Americans of Honolulu toward a close connection with the United States were at first unsuccessful. President Harrison, shortly before the expiration of his term of office, which ended on March 4th, 1893, advocated annexation in a message to the Senate; but his successor, President Cleveland, was opposed to it. The kingdom thereupon was declared to be changed into the Republic of Hawaii on July 4th, 1894, and a constitution was framed, which provided a Legislative Assembly, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The constitution, however, hardly lasted long enough to become an actuality; after President McKinley's entrance on office in the spring of 1897 the incorporation with the Union was effected without any difficulty. The constitutional position of the island group was settled on June 14th, 1900. Hawaii now forms a territory of the United States; the popular element in its government consists of a Senate with fifteen members and a House of Representatives with thirty members. The first election of a representative to Congress took place on November 6th, 1900. The Governor, a secretary, and the three Judges of the Supreme Court are nominated by the President of the United States, the other officials by the Governor.

**Republic that was Still-born**

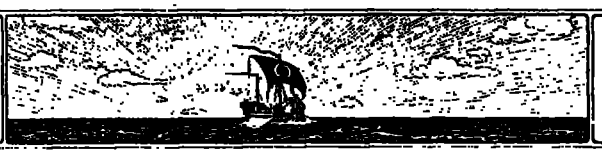
The planting of the Stars and Stripes in the middle of the Northern Pacific Ocean is not the first step which American Imperialism has taken since 1898, but it is one of the most momentous. Tutuila in the Samoan group and Guam in the Marianne Islands are both like feelers which are stretched out far towards the south-west in the direction of Melanesia and Australia; the broad surfaces of the Philippines flank the important international trade route from Europe to the eastern margin of Asia. In the case of Hawaii a higher standard must be applied. When the Isthmus of Panama has been cut through, and the United States really becomes a power in the Pacific, then Hawaii, apart from its trade, will be indispensable as a strategic base commanding the northern half of the Pacific. It will be the only intermediate station on the long route from the Central American canal and from San Francisco to Eastern and Southern Asia. The annexation of Hawaii by America is a particularly hard blow for Japan, which had itself been forced to see a similar attempt fail.

**Value of Hawaii to United States**

Only remnants are now left of the native race, and only traces of the nationality of Hawaii. There has been an uninterrupted decline in the native population since the discovery of the islands. In 1778 there were estimated—though the calculation is certainly excessive—to be 400,000 souls; in 1832 the first actual census gave 130,313 natives. Four years later there were only 108,579; in 1860, 71,019; 1884, 40,014; 1896, 30,019. At the present day it is extremely difficult to fix the number of pure natives, on account of the numerous half-castes, whose numbers were put at 6,186 in 1890, and 8,485 in 1896, an increase of more than 33 per cent. in six years. At the same time the full-blooded Hawaiians have diminished by 10 per cent. We cannot make the Europeans entirely responsible for the alarmingly rapid retrogression of the Hawaiians. Besides the diseases introduced by the former, the original laxity of morals, the drunkenness, various epidemics, and more than all the traditional practice of infanticide, have been the chief causes. In place of the natives there will soon be only Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, and Americans in Hawaii.

**The Death of a Nation**

The Hawaiian islands are extremely fertile, and export sugar, rice, coffee, wool, hides, bananas, pineapples, and sisal. During the fiscal year 1912 the imports were of the value of over £6,253,760—three-quarters being from America, and therefore duty free—while the exports, mainly to the United States, and consisting nearly entirely of sugar, aggregated £11,544,710. So entirely is Hawaii imbued with the modern American spirit that Honolulu, the capital, is lighted by electricity, has its electric tramway, and nearly every family has a telephone installation, while the Marconi system of wireless telegraphy is in commercial use between the islands.





# SAMOA & ITS SETTLEMENT BY THE POWERS

MORE labour has been devoted of recent times to the investigation of the history of Samoa than to that of all the other Polynesian island groups put together. The results obtained are hardly proportionate. The long list of proud genealogies with an infinity of names tells of the vigorous life of the petty states on the several islands and their divisions; tradition also records various invasions from Fiji and Tonga. But we do not obtain the slightest information about the date of the various events to which the legends refer. The investigations go to prove that the general condition of Samoa in the periods before its discovery by Europeans was hardly distinguished from that of other archipelagoes. Its political organisation, and to some degree its stage of social institutions, had alone been somewhat more fully developed. The vendettas and disputes between different influential families, which are also recorded, are of little importance to the world, although they have naturally been exaggerated to great events from the perspective of the Polynesians.

The traditions of Samoa do not run back very far; we need not assume more than 500 years for its inhabitants as a historical nation; how far before that date their immigration must be placed, it is impossible to calculate. The chief event of early history is the subjugation by the Tongans and the Samoan war of liberation which was connected with that—according to one authority about 1600 A.D., according to another about 1200 A.D. That was their heroic age. *Malie tau, molie toa* —"Well fought, brave warriors"—was, according to legend, the admiring shout of the Tongan king to two young chiefs as he pushed off from shore on his return journey. This title, which then passed to the elder of the two brothers, Savea, has been hereditary in his family down to the present day.

**Heroic Age of Samoa**

Samoa is the land of titles. Above the common people stand the nobles, at the head of whom are the village chief, Alii, and the district governor, Tui, while the highest chief, or king, bears the title of Tupu. Little inferior to him are the Tulafale, or orators, whose political position, generally, depends entirely on their personal abilities. Besides this, titles taken from certain districts or places, in commemoration of certain persons or events, are conferred as honourable distinctions, whose possession is a preliminary condition for the attainment of the political headship. The most famous of these titles is the above-mentioned "Malietoa," which the township of Malie, lying nine miles to the west of Apia, has the right to confer; a second and hardly less renowned is "Mataafa," which is bestowed by the village of Faleata. On the other hand, the claim to the sovereignty rests on the lawfully conferred right to four names, Tuiatua and Tuiaana, Gatoaitele and Tamasoalii, the last two of which are traced to the names of two princesses

**Where Titles are Cheap**

Shortly before Jean François Count Lapérouse landed on Samoa in 1787, Galumalemana, a chief of the Tupua family, had, after fierce civil wars, usurped the sovereignty of the whole island. On his death, about 1790, violent struggles broke out between the brothers entitled to the inheritance, from which at first Nofoasaefa, an ancestor of Tamasese, emerged victorious. He could not, however, permanently maintain his position, but retired to his ancestral home, Asau, on Savaii, and once more revived the cannibalism which had almost been forgotten in Samoa. Galumalemana's posthumous son, Jamafana, who even before his birth had been called by the dying father prophetically the uniter of the kingdom, finally inherited the throne. He was succeeded, after 1800, by Mataafa Filisounuu, who was at once involved in serious wars with the Malietoas. The victory rested with the Malietoa Vaiinupo, an ally of the ruler of Manono, who seized the power on the same day of August in the year 1830 on which John Williams set foot on Savaii as the first missionary. Malietoa assumed in consequence the title "Tupu," which has since been customary

in Samoa. He also was converted to Christianity, and received the name of Tavita, or David; he died on May 11, 1841.

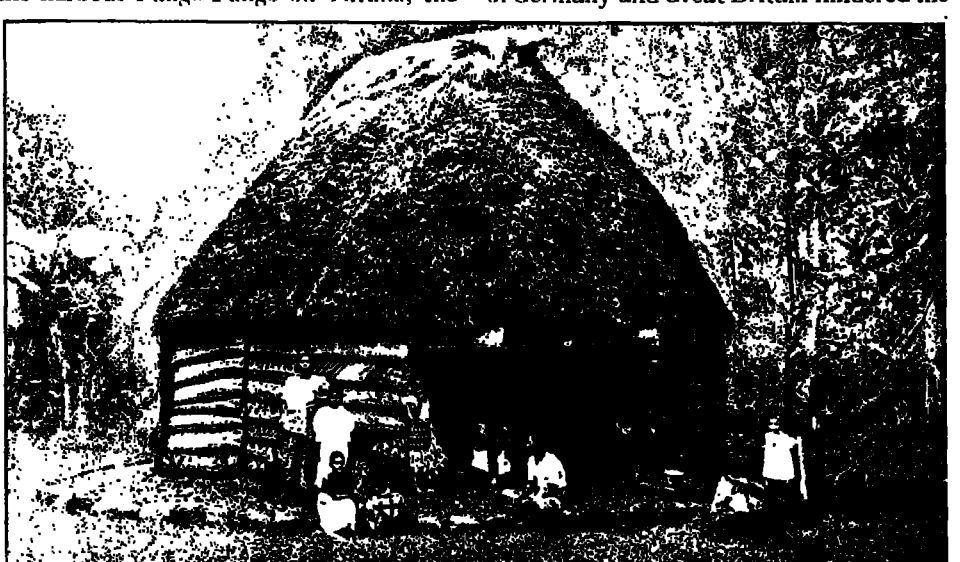
The two decades after his death were in Samoa once more a war of all against all. Out of the number of claimants to the throne, Malietoa Laupepa and his uncle Pea, or Talavou, finally held the power jointly for some years. But, influenced by the foreigners in the country, the Samoans, in 1868, resolved to put only one chief at the head of affairs, and to assemble the estates of the realm no longer in Manono, but in Mulinuu, near Apia. Manono, jealous of its ancient precedence, declared Pea king, and conquered Malietoa Laupepa and his followers. Finally, in 1873, through the intervention of the foreign consuls, who had been appointed in the interval, a treaty was concluded by which the ruling power was put into the hands of the seven members of the Taimua, an Upper House, by the side of which the meetings of the district governors, the Fai Pule, or Lower House, still continued. But in 1875 disorders were renewed, and this time the impulse came from outside.

**State of General Warfare**

As far back as 1872 the enterprising New Zealanders had advocated a British annexation of Samoa, and had offered to equip a ship for that purpose. At the same time the United States had obtained, on February 17th, 1872, the concession of the harbour Pango-Pango on Tutuila, the best of the group. The annexation of all Tutuila, proclaimed by a sea captain on his own responsibility, was not sanctioned in Washington. About the middle of 1873, the American "Colonel" Steinberger, a German Jew by descent, appeared as a commissioner in Samoa, in order to study the resources of the island group. This cunning and ambitious man soon raised himself to the most influential position, and induced the natives to ask for a protectorate of the United States. Steinberger himself conveyed the petition to Washington; he returned on April 1st, 1875, to Samoa, but only with presents and a letter of introduction from the President, Ulysses S. Grant. Steinberger gave the country a simple constitution, appointed Malietoa Laupepa nominal king, while he himself modestly assumed the title of Prime Minister. He settled the succession, arranged the system of jurisdiction, and established order and peace throughout the land. But in December, 1875, at the instance of the jealous missionaries and the English population, he was carried off by an English man-of-war, after a bloody battle, and taken to New Zealand. He died in New York toward the end of the century.

**Peace and a Constitution**

The intentions of the United States toward Samoa were now more apparent. In 1887, the American Consul hoisted his flag, and only the energetic remonstrances of Germany and Great Britain hindered the



NATIVE HOUSE AT APIA IN THE SAMOAN ISLANDS Kerry, Sydney



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN OF APIA, THE CAPITAL OF GERMAN SAMOA Edwards
The mountain in the middle distance is Vaëa, on the top of which Robert Louis Stevenson, the famous novelist, is buried.

Americans from firmly establishing themselves. In June of that year the German Government concluded a treaty with the Samoans, by which they were prevented from giving any foreign government special privileges to the prejudice of Germany. On January 17th, 1878, the Americans, for their part, entered into a treaty to secure friendly relations and promote trade with Malietoa Laupepa; at the same time the harbour of Pango-Pango was definitely given over to them.

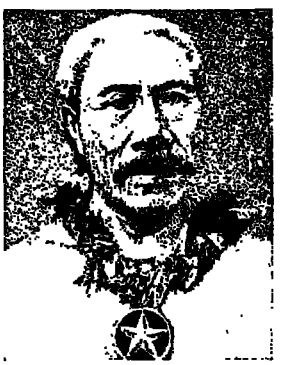
On January 24, 1879, Germany was assigned the harbour of Saluafata, on Upolu, as a naval station; Great Britain also, by a treaty of August 28th, 1879, secured for herself the use of all these waters, and the right to choose a coaling station. On September 2nd, by a treaty between Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and Malietoa, the district of Apia was declared neutral territory, and placed under a municipal council to be appointed by the three Powers in turn. Finally, on December 23rd, on board the German ship Bismarck, Malietoa Talavou was elected, by numerous chiefs, to the dignity of king for life, with Laupepa as regent.

Since the middle of the 'fifties the Hamburg merchant house of Johann Cesar Godeffroy and Son had made the South Sea the chief sphere of its enterprises, and, a decade and a half later, had monopolised the trade with the central and eastern group of islands; it had also acquired large estates on the Carolines and the three large Samoan islands, Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila. Misfortunes on the stock exchange placed the firm, toward the end of the 'seventies, in so precarious a position that, in view of the Anglo-Australian movement to occupy all the unappropriated South Sea Islands, Prince Bismarck abandoned his colonial policy of inaction, and, at the beginning of 1880, introduced the "Samoan proposition," by which the empire was to interfere and undertake to guarantee the small tribute due from the Godeffroys. But the German Reichstag rejected the proposition on the third reading on April 29th, 1880.

King Malietoa Talavou died on November 8th, 1880. His nephew, Malietoa Laupepa, was totally unable to check the renewed outbreak of civil war among the natives; in fact, at the beginning of 1886 one party chose the chief Tamasese as king. He found support from the Germans, because Laupepa, in November, 1885, had secretly offered the sovereignty to England. Continued injury to German interests, and insults and outrages inflicted by Laupepa's adherents on German civil servants, led, in August, 1887, to Laupepa being arrested by German marines, and taken first to the Cameroons and then to the Marshall Islands.

Tamasese's rule was also brief. On September 9th, 1888, the adherents of Malietoa Laupepa proclaimed the

renowned Mataafa king, and defeated Tamasese. When his people ventured on outrages against the Germans, the two German warships lying off Apia, at the request of the German Consul Knappe, landed their crews; but through treachery they fell into an ambush on December 18th, and were almost annihilated. Stronger German detachments were required before the rebels were repulsed. In addition to this, a hurricane, on March 19th, 1889, wrecked the two German gunboats, Eber and Adler, in the harbour of Apia, and ninety-five brave sailors lost their lives. The English ship, H.M.S. Calliope, escaped by steaming out, and the captain, Kane, displayed the greatest skill and seamanship. The Americans suffered nearly as heavily as the Germans.





RIVAL KINGS IN THE CIVIL WAR OF 1880

King Tamasese, the candidate chosen by the German officials.

King Mataafa, the candidate chosen by the Samoan people.

A settlement of Samoan affairs was the result of a conference held in Berlin during the summer of 1889, to which Germany, England and the United States sent representatives. In the final protocol of June 14th, the island group was declared independent and neutral under the joint protection of the three Powers. Tamasese and Mataafa were deposed, and Malietoa Laupepa, who had been brought back to Samoa in late autumn, was reinstated on the throne. Mataafa, however, was soon re-elected king by his party, but in 1893 was conquered by the Powers on Manono and banished who signed the treaty. Tamasese the Younger took his place, and the civil war continued. Malietoa Laupepa then died on August 22nd, 1898. Only two candidates for the succession were seriously to be considered—the banished but popular Mataafa, and Tanu Mafili, the son of Laupepa, aged sixteen, a protégé of the English mission, and thus of the British and American Governments. Tamasese the Younger was kept by the British in reserve merely as a substitute for Tanu.



KING OF SAMOA

Wearing his royal head-dress.

The subject of the drama, which was unfolded in the winter of 1898–1899 in the distant South Sea archipelago, was not merely the welfare of the few Samoans or the possession of the small islands. There were far weightier conflicting interests. No words need be wasted about the causes of the intense Anglo-Australian longing for the islands. The United States, who had obtained Hawaii and the Philippines immediately before this, thus possessed magnificent strategic and commercial bases for the northern part of the Pacific, but not for the south. The interests of Germany, finally, were based on economics. In production and trade it considerably surpassed both parties; and it was a point of honour with the German Government not to let the prize which had once been grasped escape in the end from their fingers.

The Samoans chose Mataafa by an overwhelming majority. At the same time the American Chief Justice Chambers, on December 21st, declared that the young Tanu was elected

with his approval, and that Mataafa could not come into the question, since he was excluded by the Berlin protocol, although a clause to that effect proposed by Prince Bismarck had not been adopted in the final version. The remonstrances of the German Consul Rose, and the German municipal councillor, Dr. Raffel, were disregarded. Mataafa then took the matter into his own hands and drove the supporters of Tanu out of Apia down to the sea and the ships of the allied Powers. After repeated bombardments of the coast villages by the British and American war vessels in the second half of March, a joint committee of inquiry was instituted in the spring of 1899 at the suggestion of Germany, and this, in July, transferred the rights of the abolished monarchy temporarily to the consuls of the three Powers. On November 14th, Germany and Britain came to an agreement, and in the Washington protocol of December 2nd the United States also gave their assent.

**Withdrawal of Great Britain**

Great Britian under this treaty entirely renounced all claim to the Samoan Islands. By the repeal of the Samoa Act, Upolu and Savaii, with the adjacent small islands, became the absolute property of Germany, while Tutuila and the other Samoan Islands east of 171° W. longitude fell to the United States. Germany in return renounced her claims to the Tonga Islands and Savage Island in favour of Britain, and ceded to the same Power the two Solomon Islands, Choiseul and Isabel. The German Reichstag approved the treaty on February 13th, 1900. On March 1st the newly nominated German governor, Solf, took formal possession of the islands. On August 14th, finally, the wisely conceded self-government of the natives came into force again. Mataafa bore, instead of the former title of king, that of high chief.

The German islands, Savaii and Upolu, have an area of 660 and 340 square miles respectively, with populations of 13,201 and 18,341. The white population is under 500, rather more than one-half being German. The exports are chiefly copra and cocoa beans. In 1911 the imports were of the value of £203,312 and the exports £219,499. The chief island in American Samoa is Tutuila, with an area of 54 square miles and a population of 3,800. Manua and the smaller islands under the Stars and Stripes have a total area of 25 square miles and 2,000 inhabitants. The harbour of Paga Paga, in Tutuila, is an American naval station, and is the only good harbour in the islands. The chief product is copra, in which commodity the natives usually pay their taxes. In 1911 the import trade was £18,838 and the export trade under £28,548.

**Resources of Samoan Islands**

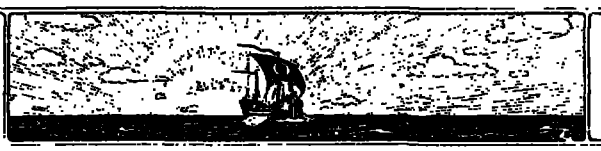


THE DISASTROUS HURRICANE AT APIA IN 1889

This memorable storm wrecked two German gunboats, and ninety-five German sailors were drowned. The British ship H.M.S. Calliope escaped only by a feat of seamanship by its captain, who steamed out to sea.



**SURRENDER OF THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS**
The arrival of the British Fleet at Tonga on May 19th, 1901, to receive from Germany formal possession of the islands under the treaty of 1899, whereby Germany abandoned all claims to the group in exchange for half of the Island of Samoa.





# TONGA: THE LAST SOUTH SEA KINGDOM

OF the islands in the central part of Oceania, only the Tonga Archipelago or Friendly Islands, in addition to Fiji and Samoa, has a noteworthy history. We know little of its course before the arrival of Captain Cook, with the exception of its social conditions.

At the head of the constitution stood the Tuitonga, monarch and god in one, with absolute power over persons and property. Of less importance in reputation and sanctity was the Tui Ardeo, said to be the descendant of a dethroned royal family, which had still retained a minor chieftancy. The Tuitonga had to show peculiar honours to the Tui Ardeo on different occasions. The king and his family composed the first class (Hau) of the nobility. The second (the Eiki or Egi, who also bore the title Tui, or lord) furnished the highest officials in the kingdom and the district governors, and was appointed by the king, although the dignity was hereditary. The first of the second class was in pre-European times, the Tui Hatakalawa, the Minister of the Interior; in Mariner's time (1810) he came in precedence after the Tui Kanakabolo, or War Minister.

Since in the nineteenth century the Tuitonga was excluded from all share in the wars, the War Minister easily attained to greater influence than the monarch himself; indeed, the Minister has been taken by more than one traveller for the king. The last class of nobility, or Matabule, furnished councillors and servants of the Eiki and the Tuitonga, district governors, public teachers, and representatives of the most honourable crafts, such as shipbuilding and the making of weapons. The three classes of nobility were the sole possessors of the soil, as well as of the power of Taboo. The common people had no share in either; they possessed only personal freedom, and supported themselves merely by the cultivation of the lands of the nobles, by handicrafts, or by fishing. Among handicrafts those requiring superior skill were reserved for the higher class of the commons, the Mua, while agriculture and the profession of cooking were assigned to the lower class, or Tua.

**Grades of Tonga Nobility**

Captain Cook, in 1773 and 1777, found that the Tubou nobles, had secured all the important offices of State. The kings apparently took their wives only from the family of Tubou. Toward the end of the eighteenth century this concentration of power had increased to the extent of denying the authority of the royal house. This roused other Eiki families to imitate the example of the Tubou. The regents of Hapai and Vavau first revolted; those of Tongatabu followed. After long struggles the victory rested with Finau, the Eiki of Hapai, although he could no longer force the whole archipelago to obey his rule. At the beginning of the nineteenth century he shifted the political centre of gravity to Vavau. In 1830 Taufaahau, the lord of Hapai, and Tubou, the Eiki of Tongatabu, adopted Christianity; and when the Finau died out in 1833, Vavau fell to the former. In this way Taufaahau governed over the same kingdom as Finau I. had done thirty years earlier. In 1845 Tubou, or, as he was called after his conversion, Josiah of Tongatabu, died also. Taufaahau, as King George Tubou I., now united the whole archipelago into one kingdom. This state bore from the first the stamp of European influence. The Wesleyan mission had soon extended its activity to political and social matters. In 1839 George issued an edict for Hapai and Vavau, which established a court of justice of four members and a written code, and abolished the old customs, according to which each chief administered justice at his own discretion. The legislation of 1862 finally raised the existing serfs to the position of free farmers of the soil, from which they could not be ousted so long as they paid their rent. The taxes, 25s. a year, were uniformly imposed on all male inhabitants over sixteen years of age.

**The Little Wars of Tonga**

After 1838 on Tonga also there were quarrels between the Catholic and Protestant missions. In December, 1841,

threats of a French warship caused the ruler of Tongatabu to seek an English protectorate, which was not granted him. The Catholic missionaries, however, obtained admission. Their success in the religious field was never important; but in the political field they had, even in 1847, so great an influence over Tongatabu, that the chiefs of that part created opposition to the rule of George I., which was repressed in 1852 by the storming of the fortresses Houma and Bea, defended by French missionaries. Although the chiefs were reinstated in their former posts, and the missionaries received no injury to life or property, France felt herself aggrieved. She extorted in 1858 an official permission for the Catholic teaching, and put various Catholic chiefs in the place of Protestants.



KING OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS
Poulaho, of whom this portrait is given by Captain Cook, was the ruler of the Friendly Islands at the time of his visits in 1773 and 1777.

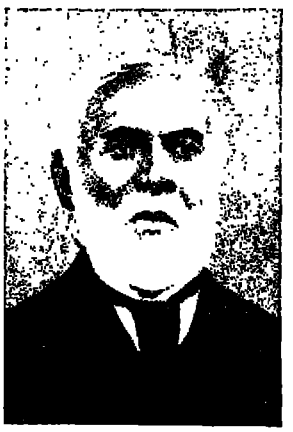
King George, notwithstanding, found time to make expeditions to other countries. The Tongans had at all times, owing to their great nautical skill, undertaken campaigns against Samoa and Nuka Hiwa, and had caused panic especially in the neighbouring archipelagoes. The people of Fiji had thus a strong tinge of the Polynesian in them. A few years after Cook's second visit (1777), a Tongan adventurer played a great part in the Fijian disorders. In 1854 King George appeared with a large fleet, avowedly to support Thakombau in his difficulties. George Tubou I. completed the internal reforms of his island kingdom by the constitution of November 4th, 1875. This was partly the creation of the king himself, partly that of his old and loyal councillor, the Wesleyan missionary Shirley Baker. Its contents kept closely to English forms; in its ultimate shape, as settled by the chambers and printed in the English language in 1877, it provided for a legislative assembly, which met every three years. Half of its members belonged to the hereditary nobility and were nominated by the king; the rest were elected by the people. The executive power lay in the hands of a ministry of four, who, together with the governors of the four provinces and the higher law officers, composed the Privy Council. The administration of justice was put on an independent footing, and comprised a supreme court, jury courts, and police courts. Education was superintended by the missionaries, who had erected well-attended schools on all the islands. An industrial school and a seminary, which was called Tubou College in honour of the king, were founded. The prohibition against the sale of land to foreigners, which was inserted in the constitution at Baker's advice—"the Tongans are not to be driven into the



A NIGHT DANCE BY TONGA WOMEN AT HAPAI IN THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS
Reproduced from a plate accompanying the original account of the voyages of Captain Cook.

sea"—was important for the economic future of the Tongans; even leases of land were allowed only after notice had been given to the Government.

In view of the increased interest which the European Powers in the 'seventies took in the South Sea Islands, Tonga, with its favourable situation, could not permanently be neglected. King George and his chancellor, Baker, were on terms of open friendship with Germany. On November 1st, 1876, this "good feeling" took the form of a commercial treaty, establishing friendly relations with the German Empire, according to which the harbour of Taulanga on Vavau was ceded as a coaling station. On November 29th, 1879, Tonga concluded a similar treaty of amity with Britain. By an agreement of April 6th, 1886, Germany and Britain decided that Tonga should remain neutral territory. On August 1st, 1888, a treaty was made with the United States.



KING GEORGE I. OF TONGA

In 1890 Shirley Baker had become so unpopular with the chiefs and people that the British High Commissioner removed him from the group, replacing him, at the king's request, with Mr. Basil Thomson, who was commissioned to reorganise the administration and finances, and to draft the penal code which became law in 1891.

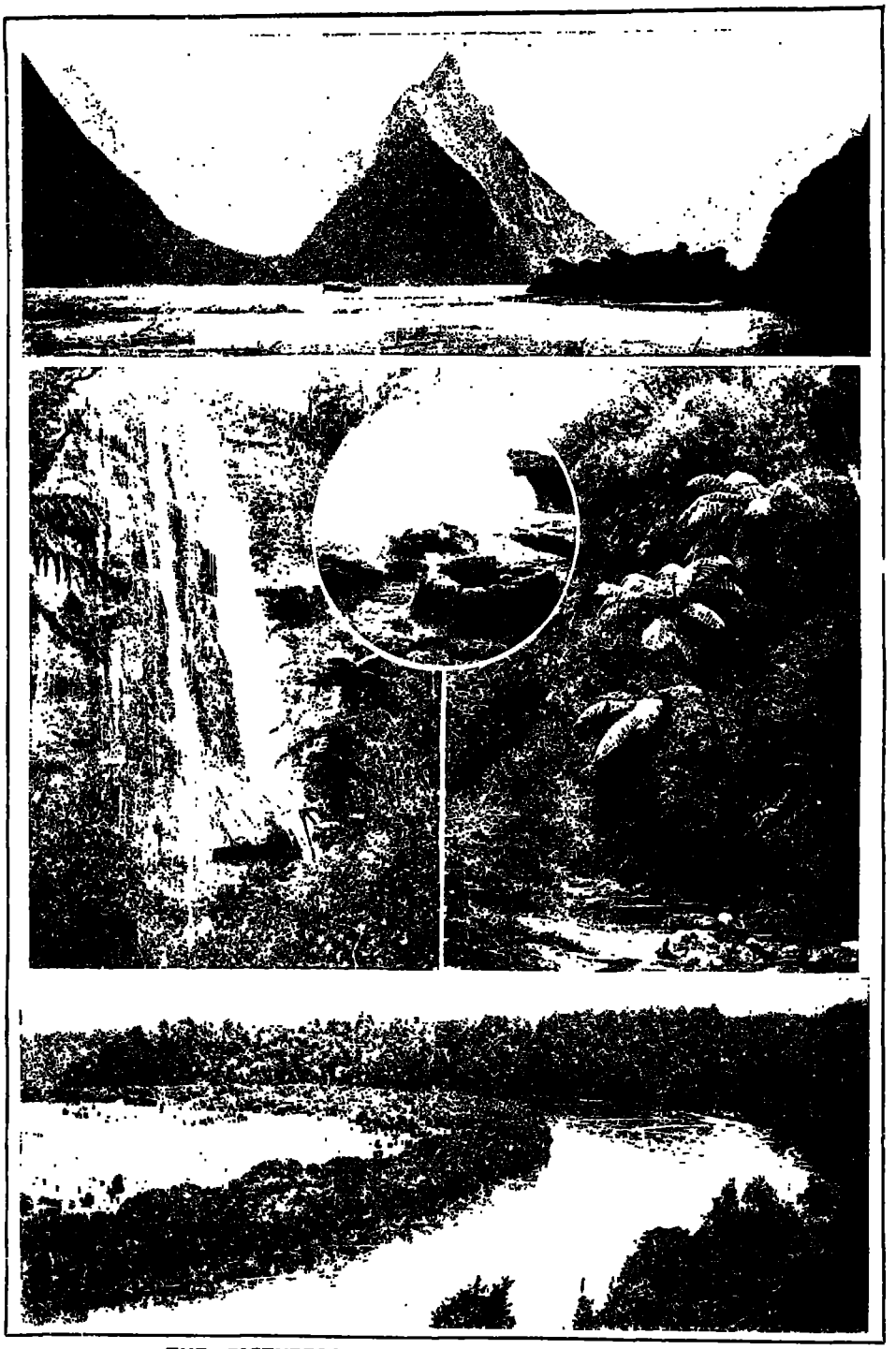
King George Tubou I. died on February 18th, 1893, at his capital, Nukualofa, aged ninety-five years. He was succeeded by his great-grandson, George Tubou II., a timid youth of nineteen. English trade had been steadily displacing German trade in spite of a monthly subsidised service of the North German Lloyd to Tonga and Samoa, and when, in March, 1899, the German warship Falke appeared off Tongatabu, nominally with orders to occupy the harbour of Taulanga until Tongan debtors had paid the sum due of £20,000—according to another statement merely with orders to induce the king to open the Tongan courts to the recovery of debts to foreigners—an English warship from the Australian station sailed in on April 10, and paid George II. £25,000 on the sole condition that the king made no concessions whatever of landed rights to any foreign Power. In return for this Britain renewed her guarantee of independence for Tonga. Since that time the group of islands has been valuable to Germany only as the object of an exchange; in the treaty of November 8th, 1899, she abandoned all claims in exchange for half of Samoa. Thus Tonga and the adjoining Savage Island were, in spite of the protest of King George II., placed under a British protectorate on May 19th, 1900.

With the Tongan kingdom, the last of the native states of Oceania disappeared. It is true that the constitution, formulated on a European model, was in many details unadapted to the Polynesian nature. But Tonga preserved many other points which recalled the old nationality. These relics of an indigenous development are fated soon to die away.



LAST NATIVE SOVEREIGN IN OCEANIA
George Tubou II., King of Tonga.

The kingdom of Tonga consists of three island groups—Tonga, Hapai, and Vavau—with an area of 390 square miles, and a population of 22,767 of whom 240 are British or European. The chief articles of produce are copra, green fruit, and fungus, and the trade is chiefly with New Zealand and New South Wales. In 1912 the imports were of the value of £169,472, and the exports of the value of £216,511 Accounts are kept in dollars, shillings and pence, and the only legal tender is now British coin. The weights and measures used are as in the United Kingdom. There is regular steamer communication with Australia and New Zealand.



## THE FICTURESQUE SCENERY OF NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is rich in natural beauty; parts, such as the Milford Sound, seen in our first view, suggest the Norway Fiords, while falls such as those of Waitakerei, illustrated above, or the Waian River, lower, recall scenes in the British Isles; but the geysers or hot springs, and the giant fern gullies, are peculiar to the country.

Photos by Valentine, Dundee, and H. C. White Co. London

# NEW ZEALAND

## THE BRITISH DOMINION FARTHEST SOUTH

NEW ZEALAND, which, on geographical and ethnological grounds, may be considered here rather than in connection with Australia, occupies a geographical position reminding one strongly of that of the neighbouring island continent. To the south and east of New Zealand the ocean is quite free from any considerable islands; only toward the north and west are relations possible with the habitable world—on the one side with Australia and Tasmania, on the other with New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, and the Cook Islands. New Zealand is situated as regards all these countries so that the lines of communication with it are almost radii of a circle, a fact important geographically and historically. It was merely a consequence of the inferior seamanship of the inhabitants of Australia, New Caledonia, and Fiji that the original immigration to New Zealand did not take place from these places.

New Zealand lies about twelve hundred and fifty miles from the islands just mentioned. This distance, in spite of their advanced nautical skill, was too far for the navigation of the Polynesians, and thus must have prevented any permanent and systematic expansion of the Maoris; their naval expeditions did not go beyond one or two voyages to the Hawaiki of legend, and the occupation of the neighbouring Chatham Islands, which was effected in 1834 with the help of a European captain.

**Coming of the Maoris**

The case was otherwise for the New Zealand of the Europeans. Two or three generations ago its proximity to Australia and Tasmania enabled a thorough and rapid scheme of colonisation to be carried out thence; at the present day, when it feels itself strong in the number of its inhabitants and its resources, it lies far enough off to be able to entertain the idea of an independent national existence by the side of the Australian Commonwealth. A feeling in favour of independence was discernible as early as 1860 or 1870, hardly a generation after the beginning of the colonisation proper. The interference of New Zealand in Samoan affairs in the year 1872 was followed by the annexation of the Kermadec Isles to New Zealand, in 1887, and of the Cook Islands and Manihikis in 1900; Fiji appears nearing the same destiny now. The influential circles of New Zealand are universally of opinion that all the island groups of Polynesia belong to it as naturally as, according to the idea of the Australians, the Western Pacific Ocean falls within their magic circle. Each of the two countries feels itself a leading power in the Southern Hemisphere; hence the grandiose phrase, "the position to which this land is entitled in the concert of the Powers," used in 1900 by Richard Seddon, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, who died on June 10, 1906.

**Aspirations After National Independence**

Although the population of New Zealand, according to the census of 1911, amounted to only 1,008,468 it would be unwise to ignore its pretensions. Apart from their advantageous position for the command of the Southern Pacific Ocean, the two islands possess a coastline so greatly indented that it surpasses Italy itself in the number of its bays. Besides this, it now produces gold and coal in considerable quantities, while copper, silver, iron-ore, sulphur, platinum, and antimony are also plentiful.

New Zealand, lying entirely within the temperate zone, possesses a further advantage in its climate, which, judging by the physical and intellectual qualities of the Maoris, must be credited with a considerable power of modifying racial types for the better, unless it be indeed the case, as is sometimes asserted, that it has a bad effect on the physique of Europeans.

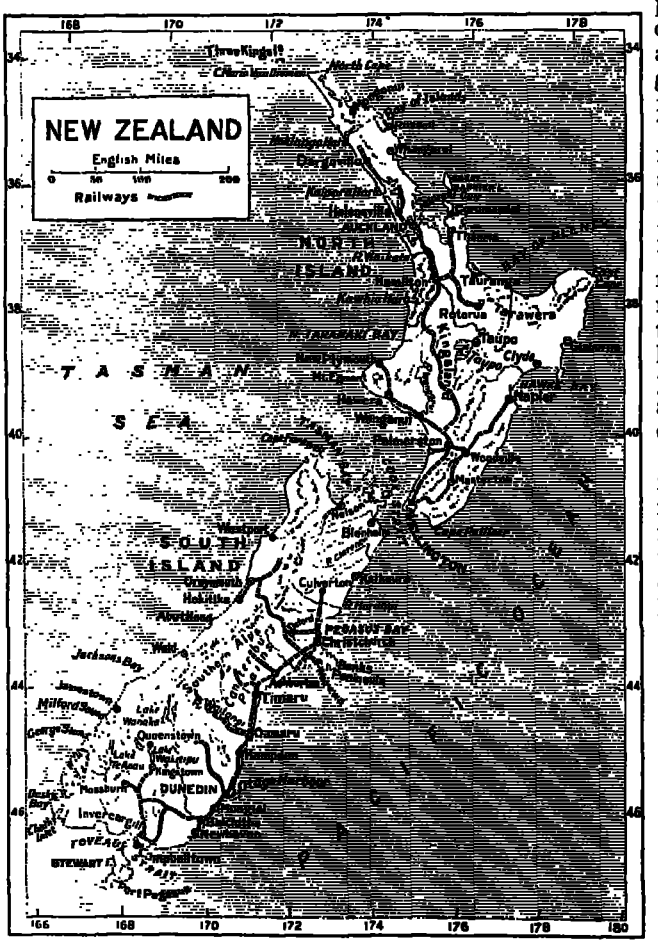
Agriculture in New Zealand, as in Australia, is rapidly increasing; although the climate is temperate, there are cold nights in summer, making the produce of the harvests very variable. Nevertheless there are more than 14,000,000 acres of land under cultivation at present. According to rough calculations 40,000,000 acres — nearly 70,000 square miles, or two-thirds of the entire surface—are suitable for agriculture and grazing, though at present one-third of the country is covered with forests. The backbone of the industries of New Zealand, as of Tasmania, which in many respects enjoys the same climatic conditions, is the breeding of cattle and sheep. This industry is steadily growing, as cattle can remain out in the open and find sufficient food the whole year through. Of the exports for the year 1912, amounting to £21,770,581, nearly £15,000,000 came from animal products; gold produced £1,345,131, and agriculture, timber, etc., £5,641,196.

The area of New Zealand equals that of Great Britain plus half of Ireland. The Dominion consists of three islands, of which the southernmost, Stewart Island, is the same size as Hertfordshire, and sparsely settled. North Island is half as large again as Scotland; Middle Island is just the size of England and Wales with their islets. New Zealand has for dependencies the Cook Islands, the Chathams, and several uninhabited islands, south or south-east of Stewart Island.

The original inhabitants of New Zealand, the Maoris, were benefited by the advantages of their country only to a certain degree; their physique indeed was improved there, but industrially they were unable to profit by the green fields or the splendid forests of Kauri pine. They made use of the native fauna only so long as there were creatures to hunt and eat; even yet the heroic ballads of the Maoris tell of conflicts with the gigantic moa, the first species of the fauna, which had lived on for thousands of years unmolested, to fall a victim to the intrusion of man.

The first Maoris immigrated into the two islands, then uninhabited, fully 500 years ago; in the course of time batches of fresh immigrants followed them, the last perhaps in the eighteenth century. The point from which the migration started was Hawaiki, the theme of so many legends, the Savaii of the Samoan Islands; the intermediate station, and for some Maoris the actual starting point, was Rarotonga.

According to the legend, the chief Ngahue, with 800 vassals in twelve ships, whose names are still kept




MAP OF THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND



A MAORI MIGRATION IN THE EARLY COLONIAL DAYS

The Maoris were formerly migratory, but are now settled and pursuing the peaceful paths of agricultural industry. The illustration shows a family on the march accompanied by all its worldly wealth—pigs, dogs, spears, and babies.

sacred, landed in the Bay of Plenty on North Island. When the British began to colonise, the population was estimated at 100,000 to 200,000 souls. Such an increase in a comparatively short time could be the result only of periods of undisturbed tranquillity. The beasts and birds—above all, the numerous gigantic species of moa, reaching thirteen feet in height—did not enjoy this peace. The inhabitants, accustomed to a flesh diet and ever increasing in numbers, looked for a substitute, and were driven in desperation to cannibalism. With this momentous step, the first crisis in the history of the Maoris, the prosperous time of peace was irrevocably past; the ensuing period was one of continuous murder and slaughter, tribe against tribe, man against man.

**Beginning of Cannibalism**

During the centuries immediately after the first immigration, all evidence points to the existence of large states, which occasionally were subject to one common head. There seems also to have been a religious centre. This was the period of the national prosperity of the Maoris, when their workmanship also attained its highest perfection. Europeans had only a passing knowledge of them in this advanced stage; Abel Tasman saw in 1642 large and splendid double canoes in use among them. Such canoes the Maoris of the eighteenth century were no longer able to build. The decadence was universal. The ancient kingdoms broke up into small communities of bold incendiaries and robbers, who recognised no political centre, but were engaged in fierce feuds one against another. The belief in the old gods gave way to a superstitious belief in guardian spirits, charms, and counter-charms. The national character, always inclined to pride and tyranny, ended by becoming more and more bloodthirsty, revengeful, and cruel.

The intercourse of the Maoris with the Europeans at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century rendered the incessant civil wars only more fierce by the introduction of firearms. In the year 1820 the chief Hongi, accompanied by the missionary Kendall, visited England, and was presented to King George IV., who received him with marked attention and showered presents upon him. Having soon learnt the political condition of Europe, and being

**Intercourse with Europeans**

dazzled by the still brilliant reputation of the victorious career of Napoleon, he exchanged most of his presents in Sydney for weapons and ammunition, armed his tribe, and filled the North Island until 1828 with all the horrors of war. Thousands of Maoris were shot or made slaves, and hundreds eaten. Hongi, having neglected to wear in some battle in 1827 the cuirass which the King of England had given him, received a shot in the lungs, from the effects of which he died fifteen months afterward.

**A Maori Would-be Napoleon**

The diminution of the native population owing to such protracted wars was an advantage to the whites already settled in the country. Ever since the year 1800, there had been a large number of "pioneers of culture"—runaway sailors, escaped convicts from New South Wales, and other adventurers. Their relations with the Maoris had at first been restricted to a barter of New Zealand flax and timber for rum, iron, and other European products; later, a trade in tattooed Maori heads sprang up, to which, even at the present day, European and American museums give testimony.

In 1814 the Anglican mission under Samuel Marsden began its labours in the Bay of Islands, and soon obtained such an influence among the natives that it seemed in 1820 as if the North Island would develop into a Christian Maori state. The horrors enacted on the island by Hongi stopped this movement only temporarily: after Marsden's death not only did the work of conversion proceed rapidly, but the idea of a Maori state under Anglican guidance was approaching its realisation. There was at that time in England little inclination to organise a state colonisation of New Zealand; Australia lay nearer and had a less dangerous population. But when, in 1831, a French warship anchored in the Bay of Islands the missionaries induced thirteen leading chiefs of that district to petition King William IV. for protection for New Zealand. The Government consented, and nominated, in 1833, James Busby, a colonist from New South Wales, as Resident, entrusting him with a jurisdiction over the British settlers which was backed up by no force at all. Busby's first act was to grant a national flag to New Zealand, which was officially recognised by Great Britain toward the end of 1834.

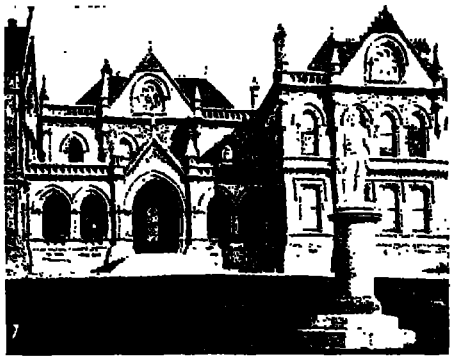
**French and British Competition**

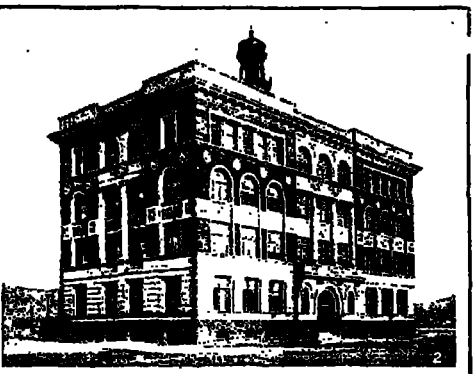
The missionaries thus obtained the object for which they had so perseveringly striven, a Maori state apparently self-governing, but in reality dependent on them. At Busby's instigation, this state, represented by thirty-five chiefs of the North, was called, after the autumn of 1835, the United Tribes of New Zealand. At the same time the chiefs declared that they would annually hold an assembly, and there pass the necessary laws. Busby himself wished to conduct the Government with the help of a council consisting of natives, for which, after a definite interval, representatives were to be elected. The preliminary costs of this new constitution should, he proposed, be defrayed by Great Britain, which was to be petitioned not only for a loan, but also for the further protection of the whole scheme.

Busby's plan, which was ridiculed by all who were acquainted with the conditions of New Zealand, had been suggested by another fantastic undertaking, that of Baron Thierry. This adventurer had commissioned Kendall, the missionary, to obtain large tracts of land for him in New Zealand, and Kendall had bought, in 1822, 40,000 acres on the Hokianga, from three chiefs, whom he paid for them with thirty-six hatchets. But Thierry, without entering on his property, roamed about in South America, in order to become the "sovereign" of some people, even if it were the smallest Indian tribe. Later, he pursued the same aims on the South Sea Islands, and was finally chosen by the island of Nukahiwa in the Marquesas to be its head. As "Sovereign Chief in New Zealand and King of Nukahiwa," he announced to the British Resident in North New Zealand his speedy arrival from Tahiti (1835). The kings of Great Britain and France, he declared, as well as the President of the United States, had consented to the founding of an independent state on Hokianga Bay, and he was waiting only for the arrival of a suitably equipped warship sent from Panama to sail to the Bay of Islands.

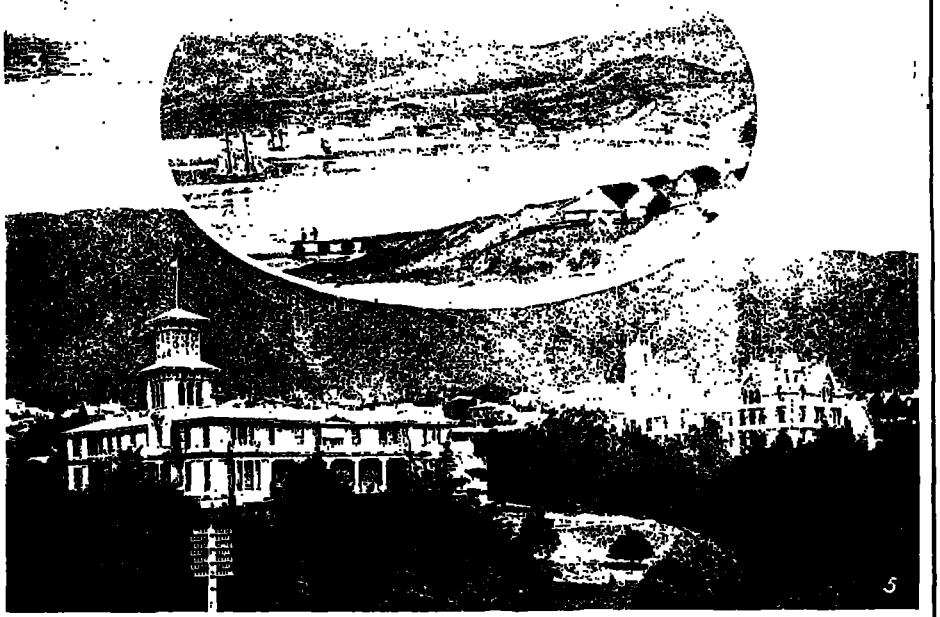
**40,000 Acres of Land for 36 Hatchets**

Busby's counter-measure was the founding of the United Tribes of New Zealand. Strange to relate, this step was taken seriously in Great Britain, though not in Australia, and every protection was guaranteed to the chiefs. There was a strictly correct exchange of notes between Thierry and Busby, until Thierry, at the close of









Photos Edwards, Littlehampton, and H. C. White Co., London

1. Houses of Parliament, which were destroyed by fire in December, 1907; 2. Customs House; 3. Queen's Wharf; 4. The port in the year 1843; 5. General view of the town, showing Government House, Cathedral, and Houses of Parliament.

## VIEWS OF WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, PAST AND PRESENT

1837, accompanied by ninety-three European adventurers, appeared in person on the North Island. At first amicably received by some of the chiefs, he soon perceived that the British settlers, as well as the missionaries, were working against him. When it appeared that his announcement that hundreds of his subjects would soon follow him was idle talk, Thierry became the laughing-stock of whites and Maoris, was deserted by everyone, and thenceforward eked out a scanty existence as a pauper.

**From King to Pauper**

Thierry's French name, the founding of French companies for the colonisation of the east side of the South Island, and finally the settlement of the French missionary Pompallier in New Zealand—all this gradually aroused a keen interest in the two islands among private circles in Britain. Captain Cook, who had explored the islands in 1769-70, 1773-74, and 1777, had always advocated an occupation of the country, and even Benjamin Franklin had proposed to found a company for the colonisation of New Zealand, but both without results. It is true that in 1825 a New Zealand Company was formed, and some emigrants were sent to New Zealand, but the behaviour of the natives alarmed the new-comers so that, with the exception of the four most stout-hearted, who remained in the country, all returned to Australia or England. The attempt, which had swallowed up £10,000, was a failure. In 1837, the idea of colonisation was again taken up by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the founder of the Colony of South Australia, by Lord Durham, the leader of the attempt of 1825, and by other representatives of the British Parliament; but since the Association for the Colonisation of New Zealand could not break down the opposition of the missionary societies, of the Government, and of the two Houses of Parliament, it was broken up. At the end of 1838 the New Zealand Land Company, also founded by Wakefield and Lord Durham, took its place. This wished to acquire land from the Maoris, in order to resell it to English emigrants. The price was to be adjusted so that not only a surplus should be produced for the construction of roads, schools, and churches, but also an adequate profit for the shareholders. When the company, on June 1st, 1839, publicly put up to auction 110,000 acres of New Zealand land, so many bidders were forthcoming that very soon £100,000 was received.

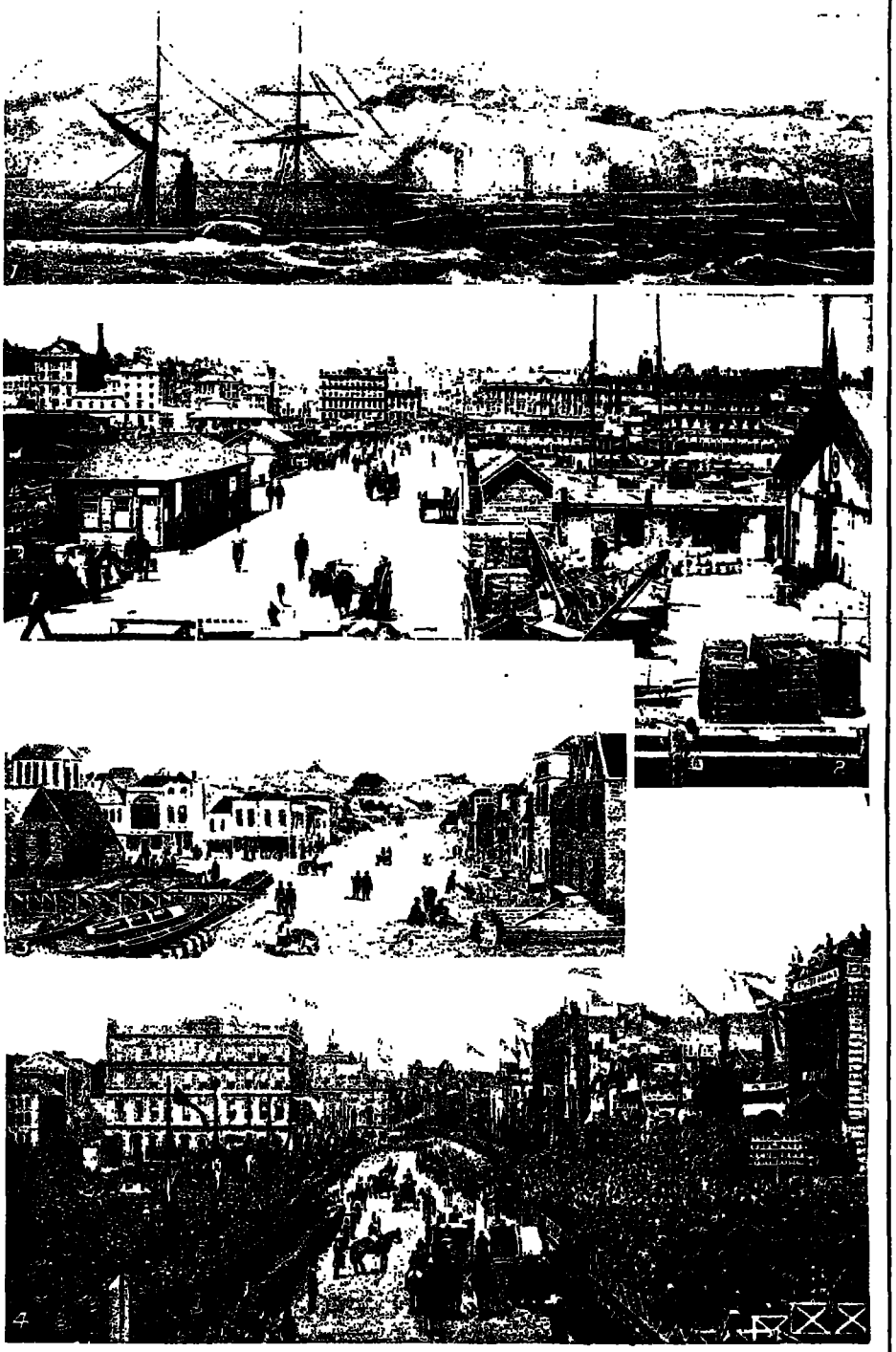
**Attempts towards Colonisation**

In view of the fact that a vigorous colonisation of New Zealand was unavoidable, the Colonial Minister, the Marquis of Normanby, now tried to anticipate the New Zealand Land Company and to secure for the Government the expected profits. Under the influence of the Wakefield agitators, Lord Glenelg, the predecessor of Normanby in office, had planned the appointment of a British consul to New Zealand and the annexation of districts already occupied by whites under the Government of New South Wales. On June 15th, 1839, Captain Hobson was nominated by Normanby consul for New Zealand, with a commission to induce the natives to recognise the sovereignty of the Queen of England. He was to administer the island group belonging to New South Wales, in the capacity of a deputy Governor. In order to nip the plans of the company in the bud, Hobson was further instructed to bind the Maori chiefs to sell land exclusively to the Crown, and to suppress the speculation in land which was raging in New Zealand, by requiring that all purchases of land effected by British subjects should be investigated by a special committee.

**Action by the British Government**

But the Government came forward too late with their measures. An expedition of the New Zealand Land Company, under the guidance of a brother of Wakefield, had already landed in Queen Charlotte's Sound on August 16th, 1839, had obtained an immense territory from the natives for a few articles of merchandise, in spite of all the efforts of the missionaries, and had lost no time in founding the town of Wellington on Port Nicholson. The capital of the "Britain of the South Sea" was thus created. One out of every eleven acres of the purchased land was to remain reserved for the natives as an inviolable possession.

Since also a French company was well on its way to secure a strong footing in New Zealand, Hobson, who had landed on the North Island on January 29th, 1840, concluded—with the support of the missionaries, who saw in a Crown



1. General view of the town in 1850; 2. Scene from the wharf to-day; 3. Heart of the town of Auckland fifty years ago; 4. The principal street of Auckland during the ceremonies on the occasion of the Duke of York's visit, 1891.

VIEWS OF AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, PAST AND PRESENT

Colony the smaller evil—the Treaty of Waitangi with a number of the more important chiefs, in which they absolutely and for ever resigned the sovereignty of their land to the Crown of England. The Crown in return guaranteed to the Maoris the royal protection, all the privileges of British subjects, and all their rights to land and property, but reserved the right of pre-emption of every district which the natives should be willing to sell. The few dozens who first signed were soon joined by other chiefs, so that the number of signatures shortly before the middle of the year 1840 reached 512. In June, therefore, the British sovereignty could also be proclaimed over the South Island and Stewart Island "on the basis of the right of Cook's discovery." On September 19th, Hobson hoisted the British flag in Auckland. Finally, on November 6th, 1840, New Zealand was declared a Crown Colony. Hobson was nominated Governor, and Auckland became temporarily the seat of government.

**Treaty with the Maoris**



**NEW ZEALAND'S FIRST GOVERNOR**
Captain Hobson, who was appointed Governor of New Zealand in 1839, and who executed the Treaty of Waitangi with the Maori chiefs.

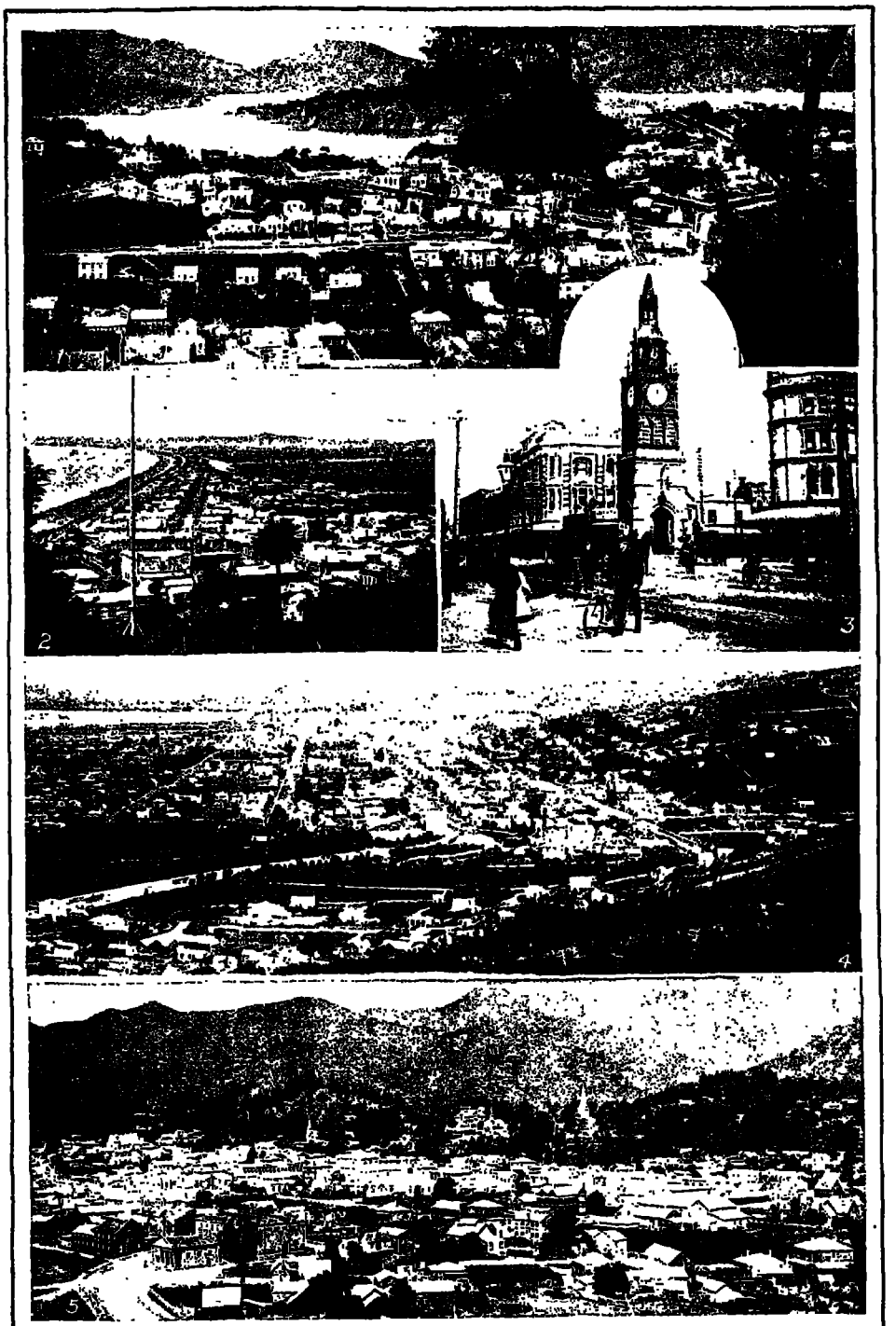
The Treaty of Waitangi is in various respects an event of historical importance. For the first time a European nation laid down the fundamental principle that the natives, even of an uncultivated country, have full possessory rights over their own land. We may contrast with this the conduct adopted by the Government and the settlers toward the neighbouring Australians and Tasmanians! Now, for the first time, "savages" were officially put on a level with colonists—that is to say, were treated as men.

The treaty is also important politically. Great Britain, by firmly establishing herself in front of the broad expanse of the Pacific Ocean, secured a commanding position in the entire Central and Southern Oceanic world. This was an exceptionally hard blow for France, since, after the total failure of her Australian and Tasmanian schemes of colonisation, there was no other considerable tract of territory to be found which could serve as a strong base within her widely distributed colonial empire in the South Pacific. The French ships which arrived off New Zealand in July, 1840, were compelled to return without having effected their purpose.

Who will prove victorious in the fight for the supremacy in the Pacific Ocean? The answer is difficult. At the present day the Pacific is a stage trodden by many actors; in a possibly not distant future it may become the theatre of war for the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and possibly Japan. In any case, New Zealand will possess great value, owing to her geographical position. Strategically she forms a splendid flanking outpost for Australia, which is otherwise exposed defenceless to every attack from north or east; and as far as industries go she is at least as well dowered as her larger neighbour. Inferiority of size is compensated by more favourable climatic conditions.

The Treaty of Waitangi soon involved momentous consequences for the colony itself. The British Government, which had never recognised the New Zealand Land Company, reduced its claims—20,000,000 of the 46,000,000 acres of land "bought" by Europeans—first to 997,000, and after a more exact investigation in 1843, to 282,000 acres. To the Englishmen who claimed the remaining 26,000,000 acres, only 100,000 were awarded; to the London Mission only 66,000 instead of 216,000 acres. The rest in all cases, instead of being given back to the natives, was declared to be Crown land and bought by the Government. From that time the natives had quite a different notion of the value of their land, which they had hitherto unsuspectingly sold for muskets, rum, tobacco, blankets, and toys. They began more and more frequently to dispute the old bargains, first by complaints and protests, then by blows, and finally by war and murder. After the Maoris had murdered several Europeans in 1843, and repeatedly torn down the

**Beginning of Maori Discontent**



1. Port Chalmers, Otago; 2. Napier, "the Garden City of New Zealand"; 3. High Street of Christchurch; 4. Dunedin from North-east Valley: 5. Nelson from Britannia Height.

SOME OF THE PROSPEROUS CITIES IN THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

Photos H. C. White Co., Edwards, and Underwood & Underwood, London

British flag, Britain was obliged to consider herself at war with the islanders. The successor of Hobson, who died in 1842, was Robert Fitzroy, known as the commander of the Beagle, which had carried Charles Darwin on his voyage round the world. Fitzroy was, however, incompetent for his post, and by all sorts of concessions, such as remissions of entrance-tolls and restitution of land sold by the Maoris to the immigrants, he prompted the natives to make renewed demands. His measures with this view rapidly emptied the colonial coffers. The New Zealand Land Company, in consequence of the perpetual disturbances, also fell into difficulties and temporarily suspended its operations. Besides this, the British forces, from want of artillery, did very little against the brave Maori warriors.

**A too Supine Governor**

In November, 1845, Sir George Grey, who had won his spurs as the first Governor of South Australia, arrived in New Zealand. Since the attempt to quiet the insurgents by peaceful methods was unsuccessful, the Governor prohibited the importation of arms and ammunition, and rapidly defeated the chiefs Heki and Kawiri. He was able to conclude peace by the end of January, 1846. Isolated subsequent outbreaks were suppressed with equal promptness. Grey's next object was to prevent the recurrence of civil wars by a system of suitable reforms. Besides the above mentioned reduction of the landed property of the missions, he put an officer into the native secretaryship, which had been hitherto administered by a missionary, and settled the land question in the interests of the natives.



SIR GEORGE GREY
One of Britain's great Colonial administrators. He rescued South Australia from panic and pacified New Zealand by his vigorous policy.

The new constitution, recommended by the British Government, which gave the colony complete self government, appeared premature to him, and was not therefore put into force; he contented himself by dividing the colony into two provinces. In order to revive immigration, which had almost ceased, steps were taken to advance to the New Zealand Company in 1846 and 1847 a sum of £236,000 free of interest, and the Crown lands of the district of New Munster were assigned to it until July, 1850. The minimum price for an acre was fixed at £1 sterling. With the company's co-operation, the Free Church of Scotland founded the Colony of Otago on the South Island in 1847, and the Church of England settled Canterbury in 1849. These were the last acts of the company, whose directors were compelled to suspend the business finally in 1850 from want of funds, a fortunate turn for the development of the Colony of New Zealand, which had suffered only from the juxtaposition of the company and Government. For this reason the Government remitted the payment by the company of the sum advanced, and assigned to the shareholders, in 1852, £268,000 sterling as compensation for their landed rights.

Sir George Grey's term of office ended on December 31st, 1853; after a short furlough at home he was transferred to Cape Colony. But, in 1852, before leaving, he had obtained for the two islands that same privilege of self-government which had been granted by the mother country to the Australian colonies —that is, a responsible government. The constitution, which was largely due to Grey himself, provided for six provinces with separate administration under a separate council and an elected superintendent. The provinces composed a Federal State with a Parliament, which, consisting of an elected lower house of representatives and a nominated legislative council, met for the first time in 1854 at Auckland, the seat of the Governor and of the central Government. Simultaneously with the final settlement of the Australian constitutional question in general, the forms of responsible government were extended to New Zealand in all its parts. In the matter of the native question alone the Home Government reserved the right of interference until 1862. The colonial

**The First New Zealand Parliament**



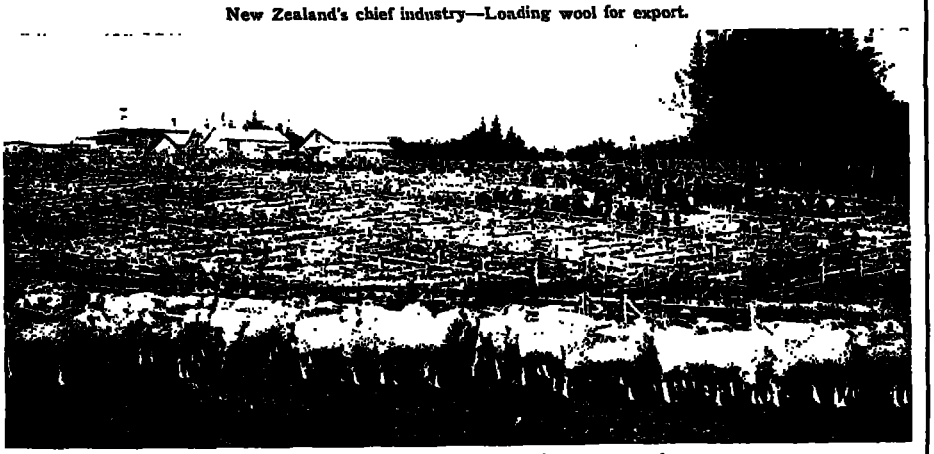
Scene on a North Island stock farm.



Freezing works in Canterbury district.

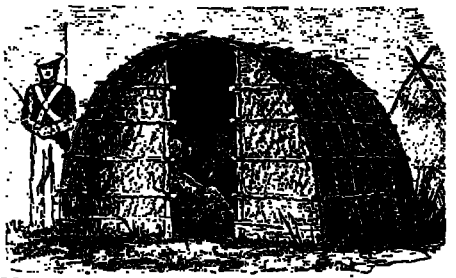


New Zealand's chief industry—Loading wool for export.



Sheep fair at Ohaupo, in North Island, an important stock centre.

NEW ZEALAND'S GREAT LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY



COMMANDING OFFICER'S HUT DURING THE MAORI RISING OF 1846

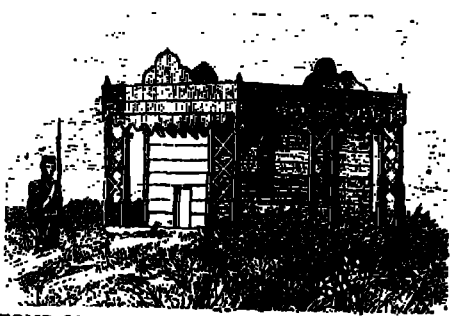
Cabinet included a native Minister, but his powers were slight; all matters rel ting to the natives and their lands were really settled by the Governor and an Imperial official known as the native secretary.

The departure of Sir George Grey was followed by a cycle o' years of external tranquillity, and of visible prosperity for the colony. Nevertheless they contained the germ of fresh troubles. From fear lest the chambers, in which they were not represented, should weaken the power of the central Government, which had been greeted with confidence, the natives of the North Isl nd, in 1856, combined into the "Land League," which was intended to check completely the further sale of land to the Government. In 1857 matters culminated in a national combination, which was intended to block the growth of the foreign element. The centre of the movement 'ay on the shores of Lake Taupo in North Island, a region in which the natives still kept their lands. South Island had by this time passed completely into European hands, and therefore did not come within the sphere of war. The lead in the struggle was taken by the chiefs of the Waikato Valley, who proclaimed the old chief Potatau as their king. But Potatau was of a conciliating temper, and the leading spirit of the whole agitation was the young and vigorous Wocemu Kingi, or William Thompson, of the tribe of the Ngatiawa, called the king-maker, who had the support of the younger chiefs. As long as the "King of Peace," Potatau I., lived, the Maoris kept quiet.



SCENE OF THE MAORI TROUBLE IN 1845

A view of the town of Kororika, better known to-day as Russell, in the Bay of Islands, North Island. It was partially destroyed by the Maoris in March, 1845.



TOMB OF POTATAU, THE FIRST MAORI KING

Potatau was elected king of the confederated Maori tribes in 1857, and died in 1860 at his capital, Nagaruwahia, where he is buried. He was a lover of peace.

Under his successor, Potatau II., hostilities to the whites broke out in 1860, and soon assumed such proportions that the British Government sent out Sir George Grey to New Zealand for the second time. In spite of all the respect which the natives entertained for him, and of the constitution which he gave them, he was unable to procure more than a brief suspension of hostilities. The question now to be answered was which race should remain in the country. The great Maori war lasted fully ten years, if several interruptions owing to the exhaustion of both sides are included. The Maoris showed a courage and endurance which places them in the first rank of all primitive peoples; on the other hand, the British operations were hampered by continual friction between the Colonial



THE EARLIEST GOLD DISCOVERY IN NEW ZEALAND
Conference between Lieut.-Governor Wynyard and Maori Chiefs at Coromandel in 1853, concerning gold discoveries.

Government, the Governor, and the commanders of the military forces sent from home. These dissensions were not the less disastrous because the blame for them lay rather with the system of dual control itself than with the individuals who were fated to work it.

One defeat of the British followed another; troops after troops were sent across from England and Australia as time went on. At length, in 1866, William Thompson, the chief of the Waikato confederacy, made his submission; a last effort on the part of his more irreconcilable supporters was crushed in 1868 and 1869 by the colonial troops, the British regiments having left the island. Practically the war was at an end by 1867. In that year an agreement was made that the Maoris should have four seats in the Lower House. In 1870 peace was completely restored. The war had cost the colony and the mother country a large sum of money, had imposed a heavy burden of debt, of which the effect was to be felt for the next fifteen years, and had sacrificed the lives of a considerable proportion of the colonists.



MAORI PEACE-MAKER
The peace-maker was formerly an honoured institution. His sole occupation was to carry messages between hostile chiefs, and to bring about peace. His person was sacred.

The natives, their pride crushed, and they themselves deprived of all hope of maintaining their nationality or even their race, withdrew into Kingsland, a district some 1,600 square miles in size, to the north-west of Lake Taupo, where they were left unmolested for a time. The last three decades have not been entirely free from collisions with the whites; but, on the whole, the Maoris have resigned themselves to the situation. They have cultivated a considerable part of Kingsland on a sensible system, and they possess more than 3,000,000 sheep, 50,000 cattle, and 100,000 pigs. Almost all can speak and write English, and all have been baptised; they eagerly vote for Parliament, where they are represented by four members in the Lower House and two in the Upper House. It is true that here, too, the old nationality is gone irrevocably; the 45,000 Maoris—for such is the figure to which the nation numbering 150,000 in its palmy

days has shrunk—hardly resemble their ancestors in any one respect. They have not, for two generations, practised cannibalism, but, on the other hand, they have become addicted to drunkenness; and consumption, asthma, and scrofula have followed in the wake of this vice.

Almost a century had elapsed since Captain Cook had hoisted the flag of Great Britain on its shores, and there were not yet 100,000 European colonists in the country. The causes of this slow movement, as compared with the rapid development of New South Wales and Victoria, were not to be found in the nature of the country; the South Island, which was almost entirely spared from disturbances, developed during those first decades considerably faster than the North Island, where war was raging. The squatters and shepherds who immigrated from New South Wales and Tasmania, soon perceived that the South Island was very suitable for sheep farming, and a few years after the founding of the Church Colonies, Otago and Canterbury, almost the entire centre and east of the island were divided into pasture lands. In 1861 the island exported roughly 8,000,000 lb. of wool of the value of £500,000 sterling; in 1912 wool was by far the chief export of New Zealand, standing at £7,105,483.

The South Island also gained much from the discovery of gold. The finds at Coromandel on the North Island and at Nelson on the South Island in 1852 remained solitary instances until, in 1861, the discovery of the rich alluvial deposits at Otago produced a veritable gold fever. After they were exhausted, the productive fields on the west coast were worked. Otago exported in 1863 gold to the value of more than £2,000,000, the west coast, in 1866, rather more. Toward the end of the 'sixties the production and export from the North Island increased. Owing to this the confidence of the Mother Country in the future of New Zealand was immensely strengthened; the London money market shows a long list of loans made during the last thirty years for the development of the resources of the country. New Zealand at the present day has the largest public debt per head of population of any country in the world. On March 31st, 1913, it was £90,060,763 sterling, equivalent to £84 0s. 11d. per head.



AN EPISODE IN THE MAORI WAR OF 1863
The 57th Regiment taking a redoubt on the Katikara River

The administration has undergone very few alterations in the course of the last half-century. At the beginning of the 'sixties it was certain that the union of the provinces, which in course of time had increased by three and were working independently side by side, was only a question of time. After Wellington, which lies in the centre and on Cook Strait, had been chosen for the federal capital, the privileges of the provinces were abolished in 1875. Since then New Zealand has consisted of eighty-one counties, which send their representatives to Parliament at Wellington. On the question of foreign policy, and the decision regarding federation with the Australian Commonwealth, the reader can refer to another part of this work.

Decentralisation is the striking feature of contrast between New Zealand and



FRIENDLY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NATIVES
A large conference between settlers and Maoris held near Napier, Hawkes Bay, in 1863.

Australia. There is no overshadowing city, such as Sydney or Melbourne. Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Wellington are the four chief towns. Auckland, the largest, has 102,676 inhabitants; Dunedin, the smallest, 64,237 None of them exercises any special political influence, the reasons being in part geographical, in part historical. The means of communication in New Zealand were, until recently, by sea, and Auckland was a four-days' voyage from Dunedin. The North and South Islands were also parted by a wide and stormy strait. Naturally, under such circumstances, intercourse between the coastal towns was difficult. Each city, too, except Auckland, which is more of a trading centre, owed its existence to the pastures of its hinterland. Their spheres of influence were rather from east to west than from north to south. The historical reason for this comparative isolation is to be found in the character of the early settlements. The South, or rather the Middle Island of New Zealand was colonised systematically by settlers who were connected with each other by the strong ties of religion or race. Christchurch was settled by a company, in which shares could be held only by members of the Church of England. Dunedin in the same way was the home of a Scotch settlement. Until 1864 the Home Government recognised the character of New Zealand settlement by giving each province an independent constitution. The provincial governments were abolished in 1864, and a centralised Government established at Wellington. Living in the happy islands of New Zealand is probably the easiest in the world. The climate is singularly favourable to agriculture, and the surface of the earth is broken into numberless hills and vales, giving a variety to New Zealand scenery which is wanting on the Australian plains. The Government has resumed land freely for closer settlement, so that the rent of a holding is very low; Government departments grade the farmer's wheat, freeze lambs, and generally tend to smooth difficulties from the path of agriculture. The result is a community without great inequalities of wealth. New Zealand has no millionaires, but she need have no paupers. The line of life is that of an English town to which parents have been attracted by a great school, where all have about the same income and the same interests



A MAORI HOUSE OR "WHARE"



NEW ZEALAND'S TIMBER INDUSTRY

Woodmen felling a Kauri tree in North Island. These trees often grow 160 feet high and up to 15 feet thick.

But if it were necessary to sum up in one word the dominant love of New Zealand life, "wholesomeness" would be the word of choice. There is something in the climate, soil, and water of New Zealand which gives physical vigour to man and beast. The sheep and lambs of the far-famed Canterbury plains are without any question the best in the world. Trout, introduced from Europe into the rivers and lakes of New Zealand, without losing any of their gameness, reach a size and weight which would be regarded as impossible in their native haunts. Indeed, many anglers now visit New Zealand instead of Norway, attracted also, no doubt, by the prospect of deer-stalking in the South Island. The hot springs are found in both North and Middle Island, but the world-famed hot spring of Rotorua have given the North Island a special distinction in this respect. The curative effect of these springs, and the healthiness of the climate in their vicinity, is best indicated by the attraction the district possessed for the Maoris.

New Zealand, after some hesitation, has decided to hold aloof from the Commonwealth of Australia. As one of their statesmen said: "The 1,200 miles of sea between Auckland and Sydney furnishes us with 1,200 reasons for keeping to ourselves." In effect, as the High Commissioner points out, New Zealanders are insular and self-contained. Like all islanders, "they have a special objection to interference by outsiders in their own affairs. and absorption in these, with entire indifference to the politics of other countries, and an excellent conceit of themselves. Nine-tenths of them know almost as little about ordinary Australian politics as do Englishmen. They have no animosity towards, or jealousy of, the big island continent; but their interest, their pride. their hopes, are centred in their own islands."

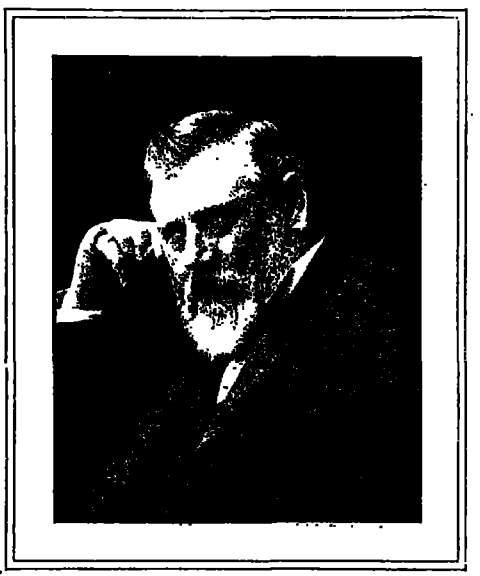
Federation, indeed, held out to them a practical inducement—namely, that they should be included within the ring fence of the Australian tariff. But this was not sufficient; for the eyes of New Zealanders look eastward, and their dream is to be the head of a Pacific Federation, which leaves them



ONE OF THE GREAT SAW MILLS ON THE WAIROA RIVER

The Kauri pine yields a valuable gum which is employed in varnish manufacture, and the timber is used for ship masts, paving blocks, and other purposes.

indifferent to the Commonwealth in the West. For a generation at least New Zealand wil pursue her course alone, connected with England, in spite of the distance, more closely than with Australia —because the national spirit is not yet awakened and she is too weak to stand alone—she will always be the purest jewel in the Crown of Empire. Though Australia's future may be greater, New Zealand's, at any rate, will be great and bright enough for the people—so they think. It may be that the distinguishing title of "Dominion," bestowed on it in 1907, will tend to encourage this inclination to political separation.

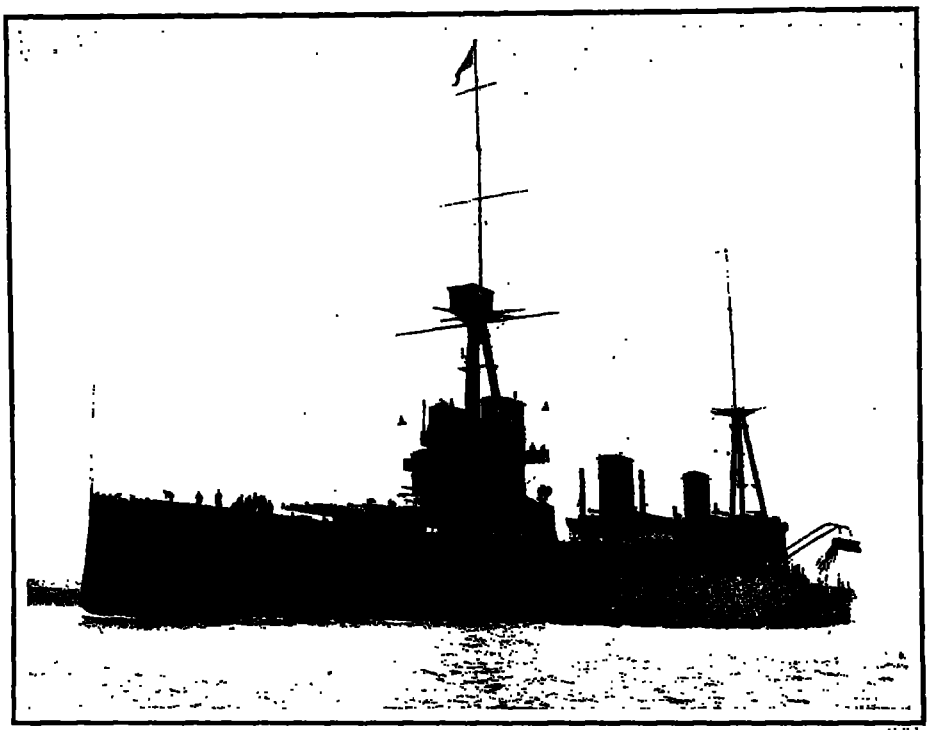


RICHARD SEDDON

**He was born in Lancashire and went to New Zealand as a mechanical engineer. He entered politics, and by his force of character and intense national patriotism soon took a commanding position in New Zealand affairs.**

New Zealand was the first British community to make a serious and systematic attempt at improving the lot of the people by means of legislation. The Land question first presented itself, and was met by a bold and, on the whole, successful series of measures to break up the big private estates and to give an opportunity for the closer settlement of the small farmer. In fact, the Land Law of New Zealand aims at preventing any but small or middling farmers from acquiring agricultural land from the Crown. The methods are a progressive land tax, an absentee tax, and the levying of rates upon unimproved values.

Equal consideration was shown to the town workers. Beginning with the Industrial Arbitration Act—introduced by the Hon. Wm. Pember Reeves—it provided a tribunal with coercive powers to hear and determine every class of industrial dispute. It did not, however, like the New South Wales Act, make it a misdemeanour to lock-out or strike without submitting the dispute to this Court. There followed a whole code of labour laws providing for fair working conditions not only in factories, workshops, and mines, but also in open-air industries. Encouragement was given to the formation of unions both of employer and of employed. Old Age Pensions were granted to the aged poor, and the State took upon itself the whole burden of public charity—outdoor relief, hospitals, and lunatic asylums. Of course, there are carpers at such free-handed largess from the State; but, on the whole, it appears that these measures have not produced the fatal consequences which should have followed such a daring violation of the "laws of political economy"! It is alleged that prices have risen; but there is nothing to show that the rise in New Zealand is greater than that which has occurred everywhere during the last few years. It will be safer to take Mr. Reeves' appreciation of these measures. "The notion that New Zealanders, as a people, have as an ideal some elaborate State Socialism may be dismissed. . . . They are not even—curiously—Fabian Socialists, but they find in practice that by collective actions they can do many things which they wish to do. They are, so far, satisfied with the chief experiments they have tried . . . The competent farmer, skilled mechanic, and able-bodied labourer, have usually a more hopeful life than in other countries. . . . The contentment of the man of small means is nowhere disturbed by the contrast of flaunting wealth."



Cribb

BATTLE CRUISER "NEW ZEALAND" PRESENTED BY THE COLONY TO THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY IN 1912

# LATER EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND

COMPULSORY military training for all male citizens between the ages of 12 and 25 was established in New Zealand in 1910. As in Australia, boys from 12 to 18 are enrolled in the Cadet Corps, and from 18 to 25 in the Territorial Force, with short periods of training in the field. The peace effective stood at 30,000 in 1913. Although some opposition has been made by the peace societies to the compulsory military training of boys, the New Zealand Government has declared itself satisfied that the system is now firmly established, and that the character and physique of the youth of the Dominion are benefited by it. Eighteen British officers are now serving the Dominion, and the Dominion forces are commanded by Major-General A. J. Godley, C.B.

In the matter of naval defence, the Dominion presented a super-Dreadnought battle cruiser, the New Zealand, 18,800 tons, to the British Admiralty in 1912, and this vessel is now stationed in the home waters. In his speech in the Dominion Parliament in September, 1913, The Prime Minister, Hon. W. F. Massey, declared that New Zealand had not the slightest intention of going into partnership with Australia in naval defence; and the Defence Minister, Hon. Colonel James Allen, insisted that New Zealand must be prepared to undertake further responsibilities in duty to itself and the Empire.

Next to military and naval defence, a further instalment of industrial legislation is notable in the recent history of the Dominion. The Industrial Arbitration Act of 1913 rendered the workman who is bound by an award, and who subsequently participates in an illegal strike, liable to a penalty of £10, and the employer, who is similarly bound, and who illegally locks out his workmen, liable to a fine of £500. A trade union was also made liable, if a majority of its members take part in an illegal strike, and power was given to the Court to cancel its registration. But even with this legislation, two serious strikes of export slaughtermen and waterside workers took place in New Zealand in 1913. The former were defeated by the registration of free labour unions, but the latter brought all shipping to a standstill for a time.



# THE WESTERN POWERS IN THE SOUTH SEAS

OCEANIA, at the present day, is in its full extent colonial territory; the few land surfaces on which as yet no white power flies its flags are uninhabited or barren rocks and reefs. The New Hebrides alone are not yet disposed of. The value attached to Oceania by the Western Powers, which is expressed in its political annexation, dates from recent times. Apart from the Marianne Isles, on which the beginnings of Spanish colonisation go back to the sixteenth century, no group of islands found favour in the eyes of European governments before the close of the eighteenth century. The reason was the deficiency of Oceania in precious metals, valuable spices, and rich stuffs. This deficiency made the region valueless to the leading colonisers of early times, Spain and Portugal; the others, however, Holland, France, and England, had their hands full with the development of their Indian, African, and American colonial possessions.

**The Modern Value of Oceania**

The first steps toward the colonisation of Oceania in the nineteenth century were taken by the French. Since the conquest of Algeria was not enough to prop his tottering throne, Louis Philippe had, after the middle of the 'thirties, issued the programme of a Polynesian colonial empire. The plan succeeded only in East Polynesia, where a really compact region could be brought under French suzerainty; elsewhere France had already opponents of her schemes to contend against, and these were found not only in the ranks of the Protestant missionaries, but also in the Cabinets of London, Washington, and St. Petersburg. She was thus able to annex only the south-east wing of West Melanesia, New Caledonia, and its vicinity.

Great Britain has had to take over a large part of her present Oceanic possessions, even New Zealand, under compulsion, not from choice. In earlier times the constantly recurring fear of French rivalry was the moving cause. As German trade relations with the South Sea developed, there was the additional anxiety of German encroachment, and in this connection the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, now conscious of their place in history, had become the representatives of the British idea of colonisation. When the German Empire stepped on to the colonial world stage, the annexation of new territories to the British colonial empire ceased to be half-hearted and became the natural event. At the present day Great Britain regards Central Melanesia, Central Polynesia, and South-east Micronesia as her sphere of interests. The "free" New Hebrides, French New Caledonia, and German Samoa make little difference to this.

Germany has become a colonial Power in consequence of long-standing commercial relations. In this way it could partly occupy unclaimed countries; partly also, following the American example, it has entered upon the inheritance of the oldest Pacific Power, the Spaniards. At the present time Germany rules a compact territory, important both by its extent and wealth, which comprises a large part of Melanesia, and almost all Micronesia, but, like the French possessions, it suffers from its excessive remoteness from the mother country. Besides this, Germany has rivals, which are formidable both industrially and politically, in the new American colonies of Hawaii and the Philippines, and still more in Australia. Samoa, which lies in front, may prove more of a trouble than a blessing to the empire.

**Germany's Portion of Oceania**

The Power which has appeared last in order of time on the Pacific stage is the United States of America, whose right of entry has been bought by the expulsion of Spain. The firm footing of America on the Philippines, Hawaii, Mariannes, and Samoa (Tutuila)—that is, on four places distributed over the whole range

of islands—becomes important from the change in the political situation thus produced; America, which hitherto has turned its face merely toward the east, now looks to the Pacific. At the same time it has now cut through the only obstacle to the development of its power on the west, the Central-American isthmus.

The total effect of this American movement is that the possession of Oceania is valued more highly than before, and that the Pacific Ocean has become the focus of interest. Recent events on the east coast of Asia furnish the best proof of this. Oceania has room for colonisation only by the Great Powers. Spain has been compelled to leave it, since it has been blotted out from the list of living world Powers. Portugal, following the decisive sentence of a pope, has never set foot on it. Holland, at the most easterly extremity of its colonial kingdom, just touches the Pacific with Dutch New Guinea; but it has not yet been active there. Chili possesses Easter Island merely for show. Japan, finally, has found the doors closed to her on Hawaii. The whites acquired influence over the destinies of the Australians and Oceanians, as over the majority of primitive peoples, in two ways—by taking possession of their territory politically and exploiting its industries, and by introducing Christianity into the national paganism. It is a characteristic feature in Oceania that the impression produced by the missions far surpassed the other in permanence and to some degree in results. This is not the case with the Australian continent, where missionary attempts have always remained occasional and, in comparison with the gigantic area, of trifling extent; they were timidly begun and achieved no important results. Much indeed is told us of the achievements of native pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but that says less for the general success of the mission than for the intellectual gifts of the race. The love of the Australian blackfellow for an irregular, hand-to-mouth, hunter's life has been ineradicable.

**The Powers in the Pacific**

Better prospects were open to the missionary in Oceania. In the first place, the confined area allowed a concentration of all available forces; and, in the next place, the national disunion of the Oceanians prepared the ground for the missionaries, as the conversions of Thakombau, Pomare, and Kamehameha II. show. The prospect of the political support of the white preachers of the Gospel was too alluring, and many availed themselves of the easy method of an almost always superficial change of faith. The real results of conversion are, nevertheless, generally unimportant. The very promising beginning made in Tahiti suffered a severe set-back after the interference of the missionaries in the disputes for the throne. In New Zealand the disorders under Hongi brought the work of conversion to a standstill for years, as was the case in Hawaii from the struggle of the Kamehameha dynasty for the political headship in the archipelago. It was only on Tonga that the conversion of the entire north was completed within ten years of missionary work, from 1830 to 1840. The kings Taufaahau and Tubou lent it valuable aid; and, besides that, the field was then left exclusively to the Protestant Church. From the moment when the French bishop Pompallier set foot on the soil of Tongatabu in 1841 we have presented to us that picture of denominational discord and intense jealousy among the disciples of the different schools of religion which only too easily poisoned other phases of national life.

**Mission Work in the South Seas**

This hostility between the denominations is one of the greatest hindrances to missionary work in Oceania, and prevents any disinterested feeling of joy being felt when a whole group of peoples is won for Christianity. It is difficult to decide on whom the chief blame rests, since the accounts of individual efforts, as well as of the combined result, vary according to the denominations. But in the great majority of cases the Catholic missions, which came too late, were the disturbing element. Since they enjoyed the protection of France everywhere, they made up for their tardiness by unscrupulous action, of which the events on Tahiti, the Marquesas, Tuamotu in Hawaii, and, above all, in the Loyalty Isles, supply us with examples. In the Loyalty Isles, the English missionary Murray had won over the greater part of three islands to Protestantism. In 1864 the group of islands was occupied by the French, at the instigation of Catholic missionaries, and Protestant were replaced by Catholic

**Catholic versus Protestant**

services. The French soldiers treated the natives so harshly that various Powers lodged protests with the Government of Napoleon III. But this interference became disastrous only in 1872, 1873, and 1880, when regular religious wars occurred between the members of the two Churches, in which even women and children were not spared. On the other hand, the Protestant missions must be made responsible to a large degree for having often combined the functions of missionary and trader. This practice, which had been adopted by John Williams, the apostle of the South Sea, has not been discontinued, in spite of frequent prohibitions by Great Britain. The co-operation of all whites, which is an essential condition for an effective mission of civilisation, was thus destroyed; the professional trader had no motive for supporting the Church whose labourers were obnoxious to him as competitors.

**Religious Factions at War**

There was also a second reason. While the Catholic missionary sharply defined the exterior boundaries of his community, and then devoted himself exclusively to it—the success of the Jesuits in building up large communities, upon which practice the increase of Catholics on Hawaii followed—the Protestant was distracted by reason of his business as a trader. Both Churches were equally open to the reproach of having interfered in the political affairs of the Oceanias as long as any territory was still to be obtained. It is true that the missionaries, working alone in the middle of turbulent tribes, were often forced to take one side or the other if they did not wish to risk both their lives and the success of their missions; but just as frequently we find no apparent cause. In New Zealand there had been an attempt to found a separate Maori kingdom under ecclesiastical rule, a counterpart of the Jesuit state in Paraguay.

**Value of Missions in Oceania**

What did missions do for the Oceanians? In the controversy as to the value of missions in the South Sea, many voices entirely condemned their line of action. Charles Darwin, on the other hand, has pointed out that, apart from other progress, missionary activity had the noteworthy result of creating a network of stations over the wide South Sea, before the value of that proceeding was realised by the Western Powers, and by so doing indisputably civilised the habits of the native. We have only to compare the little-visited Solomon islanders with the formerly savage and now quite peaceful Fijians. The credit of this does not belong entirely to the missions, however. So long as they alone represented Europeanism, there was, on the contrary, much bloodshed in Oceania. It was only when the strong hands of the Colonial Governments, which were more concerned with the undisturbed possession of the country than the welfare of the inhabitants, guided the helm that these improvements in culture were evident.

The mixture of good and evil in the achievements of the missionaries is visible in the domain of knowledge. It must not be forgotten with what zeal the more enlightened of them identified themselves from the first with the national feelings of the Oceanic peoples, and how much they collected which has been essential for our later comprehension of the subject. But it is none the less to be remembered that in the complete—although possibly inevitable—destruction of the national characteristics of Oceania, no persons took part more ignorantly than these very missionaries. They unscrupulously invaded every branch of the national life in order to adapt them to their own views. They even substituted, in many parts, the ugly calicoes of Europe for the time-honoured dress, at once tasteful and practical, of Oceania; they introduced fashions which were bound to jar on the native sense of beauty, and which, by their total disregard of hygienic laws, have promoted the increase of various chronic diseases.

**Destruction of National Character**

Now, when the island world of Oceania is divided, missions with their thoroughly successful enterprises have played their historical part. The history of mankind takes broader strides; its wide paths surround even the islands of the Pacific.

What can we say of the future of the Oceanic islands? Apportioned as they are among the Great Powers of the world, they will probably develop a history more industrial than political. In great measure they will become overrun by European and Asiatic immigrants. "Civilisation" has done for these natives its worst; education and scientific political systems hereafter may atone for what has gone before.

# OCEANIA AND MALAYSIA IN OUR OWN TIME

## BY BASIL THOMSON

BROADLY speaking, the inhabitants of all the scattered islands lying between the east point of New Guinea and the west coast of South America are divided between three races, called for convenience the Malayo-Polynesians, the Micronesians, and the Melanesians. The Polynesians inhabit all the large groups lying east of Fiji, including Hawaii, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tonga, Samoa, and New Zealand; the Micronesians, the small atolls about the Equator which form the Gilbert and Ellice groups; and the Melanesians all the groups lying west of Fiji—namely, the Solomons, Loyalty, New Hebrides, New Britain, and New Ireland. Fiji is the meeting ground of the two great races. None of these are of unmixed blood. Throughout the Polynesian Islands there are individuals of almost negroid characteristics, and, as the prevailing wind blows from the south-east, Polynesians have for centuries drifted into the Melanesian groups and been cast away there. The latest suggestion—that of Dr. A. H. Keane and others—is that the substratum of the Polynesian race is Caucasian; that the islands were peopled by a stream of immigrants from Asia still in the Neolithic period of culture, whose progress is marked by Megalithic remains, such as are to be found in Western Europe and in the Malay Peninsula, and that after they had been settled in the islands for long ages, a stream of negroid marauders from the westward conquered them, taught them the masculine arts of war and navigation, intermarried with their women, and founded the present mixed race. Thus they would account for the backwardness of the feminine arts, such as pottery and weaving, and the comparatively advanced quality of the masculine arts of shipbuilding and fortification.



BASIL THOMSON

**The writer of this chapter was for some years Prime Minister of Tonga, and is recognised as one of the foremost authorities on Oceania.**

Almost all the Polynesian tribes speak of Bulotu, a place in the Far West, as the land of their origin and the place to which their spirits will return after death. Bulotu has been identified with various places in the Malay Archipelago, but such identifications must always be purely conjectural.

In physique the Polynesians are muscular, tall and well-proportioned; of an olive complexion, inclined to reddish-yellow, that may be best compared with café-au-lait. Their limbs are fleshy, though well-proportioned, and the chiefs of both sexes are prone to corpulency. Their hair is naturally wavy and black, but frequent smearing with lime dyes it a tawny brown, like sealskin. Their faces are generally open and pleasant, and sometimes even beautiful, especially in the men, who might be used as models by a sculptor.

The political institutions were generally governed by hereditary chiefs, subject to the checks which a powerful aristocracy might put upon their power. In some of the islands the hereditary chief was regarded as the incarnation of a deified ancestor, and sometimes

evolution of this idea had produced a dual monarchy, the one spiritual and the other temporal, like the Mikado and the Shōgun of Japan. Among no people in the world does noble birth carry so much prestige. In Tonga a plebeian had no soul, and nowhere in the islands could a man rise above the station to which he was born. In Hawaii, as in Siam and in ancient Egypt, the king sometimes married his half-sister in order that the royal blood might not be diluted. Rank derived from the mother counts for more than that inherited from the father; but this is less a relic of matriarchal institutions than an acknowledgment, in a race of dissolute habits, of the uncertain paternity of a child.

**Prestige of Blue Blood**

The religion of the Polynesians was remote ancestor worship; but there was no powerful priesthood, and in practice the religion was nothing but a regard for the *taboo* and the occasional propitiation of chiefs lately dead. Certain acts were permanently taboo, or forbidden. The Marquesan women must not enter a canoe, but must swim whenever they had to cross water. A taboo, or prohibition, was laid upon some article of food that was growing scarce, and until the ban was removed none could use it. Those who touched a corpse were taboo until they had cleansed themselves by expiation; and contact with a chief would in itself bring sickness unless it was removed by pressing his feet against the abdomen—a custom which became so irksome to the Tongan chiefs that one of them consecrated a vessel given him by Tasman to be a substitute for his feet.

The Polynesian picked his way through life in dread of infringing the taboo. It was in the air he breathed, in the things he touched and ate, and not until he was safe in the grave was he freed from its dangers. It was the fountain of the chief's power and his engine of government. The chief was believed to have a sort of spiritual exhalation, called *Mana*, that invested his every word and deed with power, and withered up the plebeian who incautiously approached him. The penalty for an infringement of the taboo was death by disease of the liver; and in Tonga it was a common practice to open the bodies of the slain to see whether they had been virtuous. Christianity has swept away all these beliefs, and the power of the chiefs has waned. Most of the Polynesian tribes are decreasing, but not very rapidly; and they have shown so much readiness to adopt European customs that it is probable that they will eventually be absorbed, and that the population of the islands in the distant future will be a hybrid race with a strong admixture of European blood.

**Potency of the Taboo**

The Melanesian varies a good deal in the different groups. As the name implies, his complexion is dark, inclined to be black, with a dull, sooty tinge under the skin. His hair is frizzy and matted. He is muscular, but shorter and more thickset than the Polynesian. His language, though derived from a common source, is split into an infinite number of dialects, varying so widely that they are almost unintelligible beyond the limits of the tribe.

In some parts of Melanesia there are hereditary chiefs, but their influence is small. There are no powerful confederations, and they govern through a council in which every warrior has a voice. In other parts each little tribal unit is a miniature republic, with manhood suffrage. They are more warlike and savage than the Polynesians, and infintely more primitive. To go from Samoa to the New Hebrides is to travel back through the centuries; to pass from the society of men into the society of schoolboys. The Melanesians have little pride of birth, and whereas few Polynesians will indenture themselves as labourers for Europeans, Melanesians are always ready to leave the islands for the plantations of Fiji and Queensland. After working for three years and adopting European habits and dress, they come back to their islands, distribute their clothes, and revert to their original savagery. Familiarity with Europeans has not made intercourse with them easier. It is now unsafe to explore islands where Cook was received with friendliness. Outrages upon unarmed vessels, which have long been impossible in Polynesia, still occur occasionally in the western groups.

**Differences between the Races**

No argument as to the origin of these races can be founded upon their arts. Artistic skill seems to be sporadic and accidental. Whereas the Maoris have much decorative skill in sculpture and carving, other Polynesian tribes, such as

the Samoans and Tongans, have none at all. Decorative art is more developed in Melanesia, and in the island of New Georgia, in the Solomons, it rises to a very high pitch of excellence. The Melanesians are very industrious both as planters and artificers. They have got beyond the outrigger in canoe-building. Their women are more moral than the Polynesian women; their men show greater aptitude for acquiring foreign handicrafts, but they are decreasing even more rapidly than the Polynesians, partly from the former depopulation of their islands by the labour trade, partly from the European diseases introduced by returning labourers.

The population of the islands before the arrival of Europeans is difficult to estimate. The Marquesans and the Fijians were apparently decreasing when they first came under observation. Like the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish conquest, they seemed recently to have developed intertribal warfare to a pitch unknown before. As far as can be judged it seems probable that the inhabitants of all the islands, including Hawaii and New Zealand, never numbered more than two millions. They have shrunk now to something less than half a million. The Micronesians, on the other hand, are not decreasing. The islands lie so low that the water in the wells is always brackish, and the soil is so unproductive that fish and a certain kind of taro are the staple foods. Mindful of the danger of having a population too large for the food supply, the increase is artificially limited, and popular opinion does not permit a woman to have more than five children. Their physical type is distinct. The skin is light brown, like the Polynesians; the hair is coarse, black, and rather straight. The eyes are sometimes oblique, like the Mongolian's. The body is long and the legs short, thick, and muscular. At first sight one would take the Micronesian to be a hybrid between the Mongol and the Polynesian.

**Estimates Regarding Population**

All the Polynesian and many of the Melanesian tribes are now nominally Christian. Beginning with the voyage of the ship *Duff*, sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1797, mission enterprise has had an astonishing success. Hawaii went to the American missionaries, the eastern groups to the London society, disputed at various points by French Roman Catholics; Tonga and Fiji fell to the Wesleyans, who have since sent out emissaries to New Britain and the d'Entrecasteaux group; the Presbyterians and the Church of England divide Melanesia between them.

The tendency of the missions in some of the islands was to become political organisations. Great chiefs became Christian from political motives, and their people followed them like a flock of sheep. Often when professing Christianity, the natives do not at first believe their own gods to be false gods—rather that it is convenient to discontinue worshipping them for a season. How could they be false gods when they are their own ancestors, of whose existence upon earth there could be no shadow of doubt? Nevertheless, conversions continued to be rapid, and apostates rare. The Polynesians are born orators, and here was a field that permitted the meanest of them to declaim from the pulpit, though under the old order they had been born to silence. For this reason the Wesleyans, with their hierarchy of native ministers, catechists, and local preachers, have been more prosperous than the Roman Catholics, who may not delegate the functions of their priests. There are signs that the influence of the missionaries is now waning. From time to time there have been symptoms of a craving for a native Church, free from the trammels of a European priesthood, and it is impossible to foretell what form of religion the future may bring forth in Polynesia.

**Political Work of Missions**

Most of the South Sea Islands have now been appropriated. Tahiti, the Marquesas and New Caledonia belong to the French. Germany holds the Marshalls, most of Samoa, an island in the Solomons, New Britain, and a strip on the northern coast of New Guinea. The Americans have Hawaii and an island in Samoa. Fiji, the Ellice and Gilbert groups, Rarotonga, the remainder of the Solomons, South Eastern New Guinea, Norfolk Island, and a number of small islands, annexed with a view to future cable stations, belong to Britain, which also has a protectorate over Tonga. The New Hebrides are not yet actually appropriated owing to the opposition of the Australians to any French penal colony so near their shores.

**Ownership of the Islands**

There is now settled government throughout Polynesia, but in some of the Melanesian groups the protectorate is nominal. The European population of these islands can almost be counted on the fingers, and where there is no European settlement it is impossible to make the government self-supporting. Most of the Melanesian islands are malarious, whereas Fiji and the islands to the eastward are healthy; and though the climate is hotter than an English summer and the damp heat of the rainy season is trying, Europeans are able to do any kind of work except field labour. The future of the islands is bound up with that of Australasia. Every kind of tropical produce thrives luxuriantly, but the market is overstocked. Fiji and Hawaii, where enormous sums have been invested in the latest machinery for producing sugar, have been hampered by the necessity of importing labourers, the former from India, the latter from Japan. The second great staple, copra, or dried coco-nut, from which oil is pressed for soap and candle making, has to compete with plantations nearer the European market. Coffee has been nearly destroyed by the leaf disease. Tobacco and tea, though both are of excellent quality, have not yet become known to European buyers. When the population of Australia attains ten millions, the market difficulties will vanish.

**Nature of the Climate**

Great Britain is the only Power that as yet has succeeded in establishing a self-supporting colony in the South Seas, and in governing and training the natives of Fiji without a single soldier or ship of war in the islands. In the time to come it is probable that all the islands will be politically dependent upon Australasia.

For many generations perhaps the islands will be holiday resorts. Europeans will conduct the business of the towns and manage the plantations and the mines, and the country trade will be in the hands of coloured people, Indians, natives and Chinese. The labouring population will undergo great changes. Little by little the natives will disappear as a distinct race, and a mixed people, a blend between all the races that now inhabit the islands, will take their place. The process has already begun, and prosperity, attracting men of other races to the centres of commerce, will accelerate it enormously.

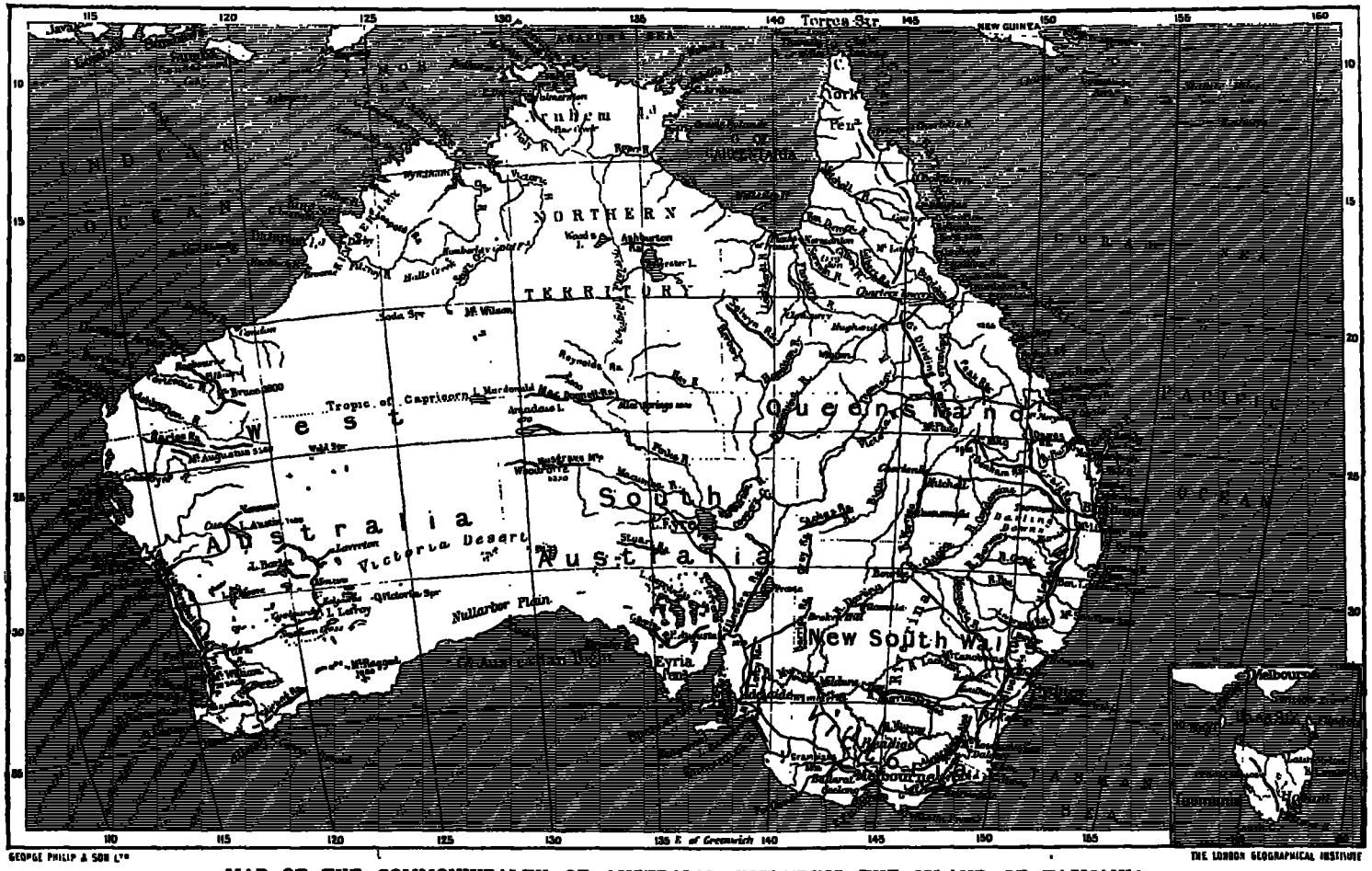
**The Coming of Hybrid Races**

Speaking geographically and ethnologically, the Philippines do not belong to the islands of the South Seas, though one of the three races inhabiting them, called for want of a better title, Indonesians, may be nearly related to the Polynesians. Probably the original inhabitants of this important group were the Negritos, a negroid people of low stature and dark skins, flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair. They are a timid, nomadic people who seldom emerge from the forests on the mountain slopes of Luzon, Panay, Negros and Mindanao, where they live by hunting and on the wild fruits of the forest. The Indonesians are confined to the island of Mindanao. Physically they are not unlike the Malayo-Polynesians. All their tribes are pagan, and some of them are very warlike. But the great majority of the Filipinos are of Malayan origin, though the type has been modified by intermarriage with other peoples. Of the forty-seven Malayan tribes seven are Christian, seven Mohammedan, and the remainder pagan; but the Christians and Mohammedan tribes together form the bulk of the population. Among them is to be found every stage of social development, from the highly educated, Christianised native to the almost primitive savage. The total native population of the group is thought to exceed 7,000,000, but accurate figures of the nomad tribes are almost impossible to procure.

**Filipinos of the Present Day**

The Philippines contain enormous undeveloped wealth in copper, coal, and gold, and as the mines are developed by American capital and wealth pours into the islands, education and peaceful settlement will do something towards welding the diverse human material into a homogeneous whole. Even if public opinion in America should oppose colonial expansion, it is quite impossible for American government to relinquish the islands. The Filipinos would accept no other rulers, and for the time they are quite incapable of ruling themselves. It is not a country where Europeans can do outdoor labour, and for many generations will it be unsafe to place the balance of power in the hands of the natives. America has, in fact, blundered into Empire against her will, just as England had responsibilities forced upon her in the days when Empire was regarded as a burden.

BASIL THOMSON




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THE LONDON GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE

**MAP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, INCLUDING THE ISLAND OF TASMANIA**

**The heavy black lines indicate the mountain ranges.**



# AUSTRALIA

## THE ONLY CONTINENT-STATE

### THE NATURE OF THE COUNTRY

THE position of Australia, from the standpoint of the history of the world and of civilisation, is best described as terminal or marginal. In this respect it has many features in common with Africa, and especially with the southern half of Africa. Just as the African continent runs out toward the west into the narrow but almost landless Atlantic, and toward the south into the desolate and inhospitable Antarctic Ocean, so the mighty waste of waters of the Southern Indian and Southern Pacific Oceans spreads round the western and southern halves of Australia.

**Geographical Features of Australia**

Australia is shut off from the open sea only upon the east; we there find large clusters of islands, which, on the map at least, produce the impression of a dense mass. But, in reality the area of these eastern islands is nothing in comparison with the expanse of ocean and the continent; and leaving New Zealand out of the question, they cannot, with their diminutive superficial size, be considered as having influenced Australia in the past.

Australia is thus the most insular of all continents. It would appear completely free and detached from the other continental land masses were it not for the dense Malaysian group which lies to the north-west, and forms a connecting link with the south-east coast of Asia. This group contains larger islands than its Oceanic continuation; it is also more densely packed, so that it seems admirably adapted as a bridge for migrations. And it has undoubtedly served such purpose. In the case of certain plants and animals, the migration from Asia to Australia can be proved, and it is extremely probable that the ancestors of the Australian native tribes crossed the Indonesian bridge.

**Australia an Old World Country**

If we consider Australia, under these circumstances, as part of the Old World, we are certainly treating the question rightly; only, this conclusion is less frequently based by historians on the facts of geography, zoölogy, and botany than upon the evidence of native culture and institutions, which are entirely borrowed from the civilisation of the Old World. But the first argument is more interesting and historically more far-reaching, since it brings into our field of view not only Australia, but also all Oceania, which is, much more obviously than Australia, connected with the Asiatic continent. The path from Asia to both regions is almost precisely the same.

The marginal situation of Australia has produced on its aboriginal inhabitants all the effects which we find in every primitive nation in the same or a similar position. The whole development of their culture bears the stamp of isolation. The

disadvantageous position of the continent is by no means balanced by variety of internal conformation. The coast line compares favourably in extent with those of South America and Africa when the greater superficial area of these two continents is taken into account. So with the number of its peninsulas, Australia fares better than those two continents. But what profit could the natives derive from these very slight advantages if the islands and peninsulas are as sterile, inaccessible, and desolate as most of the coast districts, and the greater part of the interior itself ?

**Desolate Coast Districts**

The Australian continent, according to its vertical configuration, is a vast plateau, rising in the east, and sinking in the west, which slopes away from north to south. This tableland is only fringed by mountain ranges on its edges. A chain of mountains runs along the east coast from the southern extremity, and follows the coast line at a varying though never great distance, until it ends in Cape York. From this great watershed the land gradually slopes away in a south-westerly direction to the Indian Ocean, seamed by a few detached ranges and mountains, which rise to a considerable height in isolated masses.

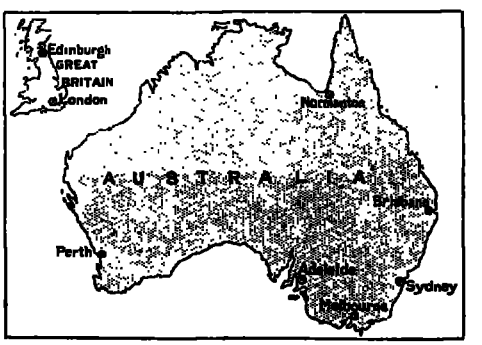
The western coast range is not so high as the eastern ; but, in contrast to the latter, it is prolonged into the interior as a tableland, which, abounding in mineral wealth and furnishing good pasture, stretches far into the centre of the country. On the south and north there is no such high ground bordering the coast and turning inwards. Some half century ago, this non-existent high ground played an important part in the current theories as to the interior ; since its existence was assumed, necessitating the belief that the interior was an enormous basin, in which the rivers from all sides united their waters in a large inland sea. We know now that the north rises so gradually from the sea to the interior that the rivers, in consequence of their gentle and uniform fall, overflow their banks far and wide after every heavy downpour of tropical rain. There is still less difference of height observable between the interior and the south coast. The lake district, which runs in a long line from Spencer Gulf to the north and north-west, lies almost on the level of the sea.

**The Myth of an Inland Sea**

Except in the south-eastern district of New South Wales, where the Murray rises, none of the Australian mountains is high enough to form among perpetual snows a reservoir for the constant supply of the rivers ; but the principal, and, from its position, the most important, range—that of the east coast—is high enough to divert the atmospheric moisture from the remaining parts of the continent. The existing conditions are precisely similar to those in South Africa, which, geographically and ethnographically, has many points of affinity with Australia. Just as the curving ranges of the east coast of Africa collect on their wild and rugged flanks all the aqueous vapour of the south-east trade-winds blowing from the Indian Ocean, so the moisture contained by the Pacific south-east trade-winds does not go beyond the limits of the high grounds of East Australia.

As a result of this restricted area of rainfall, there is no river systen of importance, except that of the Murray and its tributary the Darling, on the east of the continent. This testifies to the absence of any watershed in the interior, in so far as its sources comprise the whole western slopes of the East Australian coast range from New South Wales to Queensland. We are concerned, therefore, only in its eastern, northern and western parts with measurements such as Europe can show. The real value both of these rivers and of most of the others in Australia, whether rapid or stagnant, lies in the facilities they offer for navigation and irrigation by the free use of dams, locks and weirs. The Darling is by far the longer but shallower arm, which, even without artificial works, becomes navigable after floods, and can then be ascended by steamers of small

**Australia's Lack of Water**




**BRITAIN CONTRASTED WITH AUSTRALIA**
**Area of Great Britain, 88,729; that of Australia, 2,946,358 square miles.**

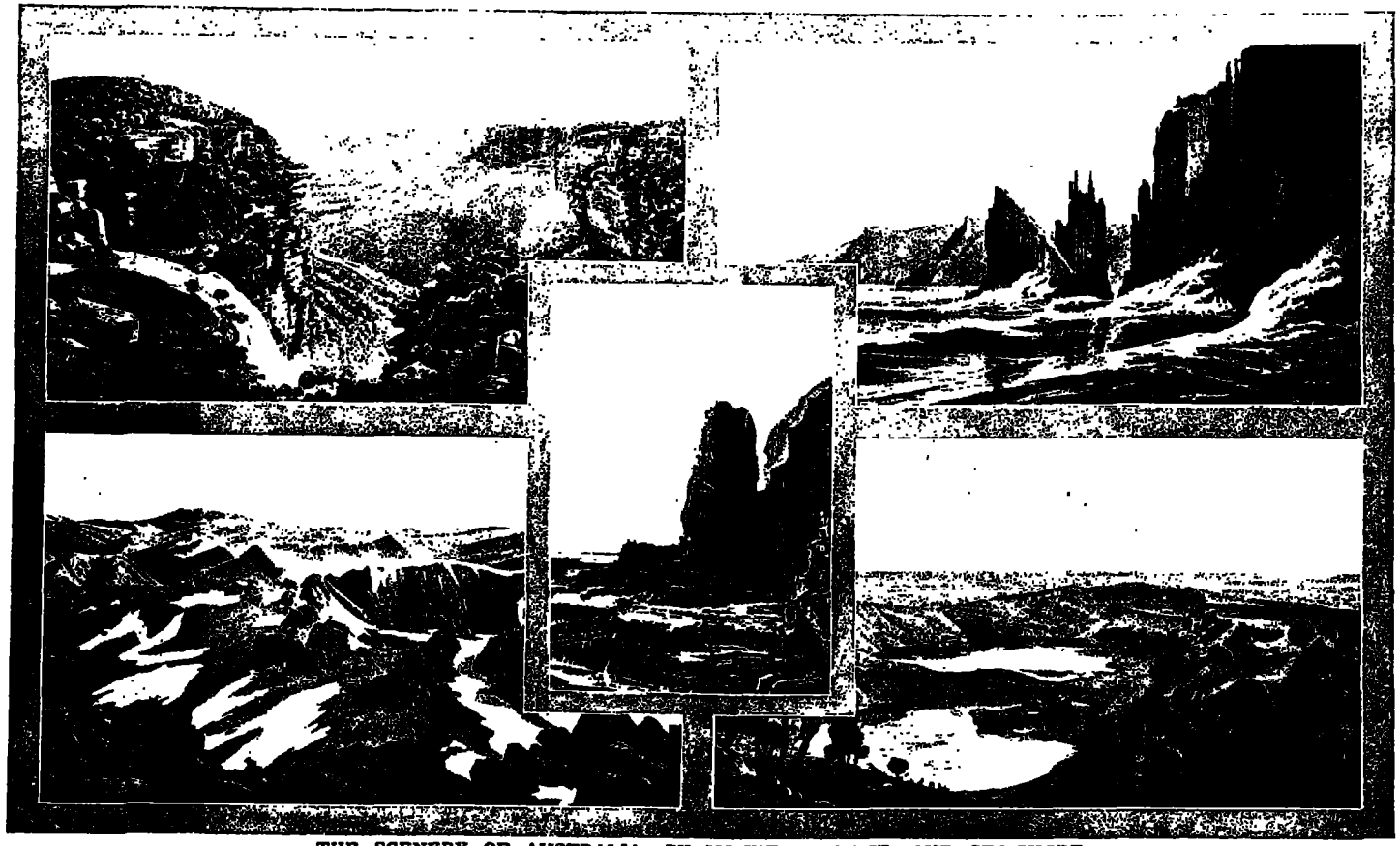



MAP OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA, INDICATING PRODUCTS OF THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

draught as far as the point where it cuts the thirtieth degree of southern latitude. The Murrumbidgee, the right tributary of the Murray, is open to navigation for six months in the year. The Murray is now available at all times for the objects of commerce.

In the north and north-east, owing to the heavier rainfall, there is less scarcity of water. We find there numerous watercourses of considerable breadth, of which quite a number are navigable for a short distance inland. They open up the interior of the country up to the foot of the coastal ranges. Only the still little known streams of the northern territory, the Roper, the Daly, and the Victoria can be ascended by large vessels for a very considerable distance.

In the west and the south, and in the interior, during the greater part of the year the channels of the rivers either lie quite dry, or consist of a chain of broad ponds, which are divided by banks and never connected after their formation. These beds, however, become real watercourses at the time of the summer rains, when they swell to such a size that their overflow fertilises huge tracts of apparently barren country. Even the water which disappears in the ever-thirsty ground forms great underground reservoirs, which are tapped by artesian bores. The south coast, again, as far as the mouth of the Murray, is entirely devoid of any river worth mentioning. It is sufficiently obvious that such a lack of uniformity in the water supply of the continent must have the most far-reaching effects on all its



THE SCENERY OF AUSTRALIA: BY MOUNTAIN, LAKE, AND SEA-SHORE

The two upper pictures represent Weatherboard Falls, N. S. W., and the south end o. Tasman's Island; the lower two subjects show the north-east view from Mount Kosciusko, N. S. W., and the crater of Mount Gambier, South Australia; the centre picture is Castle Rock, Cape Schanck.



THE SCENERY OF AUSTRALIA: GLIMPSES OF ITS WONDERFUL FOREST LANDS

The first two illustrations show the forest of the Cape Otway Range, and Fern Tree Gully, in the Dandenong Range, Victoria; the lower pictures are of Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, N. S. W., and the junction of the Buchan and Snowy Rivers, Gippsland; the centre showing one of the famous "bottle" or baobab trees.

phenomena of life. Ethnographically, the uncertainty of the rainfall in the interior has compelled the natives to be continually migrating if they wish to find sufficient food; it is one reason why these unsettled migratory bands can never attain any size, if, indeed, the scanty supplies of the soil are to be enough to feed them.

**Native Races of Australia**

This, however, will not suffice to explain the splitting up of the aborigines into a number of small tribes, which do not cohere, since this feature of their polity is similarly characteristic of the races in the coast districts, where food and water are plentiful. It may rank, no doubt, as a contributory cause; their gradual disappearance without leaving any mark on history is a necessary sequel. This main feature of the hydrography of Australia is not limited in its effects to the natives only; it has, on the contrary, exercised a marked influence on the density of colonisation by the whites. In the parts of the country remote from the coast, the colonist, precisely as in sub-tropical South Africa, required ample room, and it is no mere coincidence that the colonies of Australia were everywhere founded in the more fertile coast districts.

The characteristic feature of the climate of the interior of Australia is its dryness. The country, from its position between the tenth and fortieth degrees of southern latitude, is for the most part, and throughout its whole length, included in the region of the southern trade-winds. In addition to this there is the disadvantage which we have already mentioned, that the highest ranges of mountains are found on the weather side of the continent, the result of which is that the main portion of the country is sheltered from wind and rain. Under these circumstances, there is in the interior excessive heating of the soil, which also receives the tropical rains of the north coast. The former produces, especially in

**Climatic Conditions of Australia**

summer, an extensive Central Australian zone of low pressure, which gives rise to a rain-bringing north-west monsoon, and draws it far into the continent, sometimes even to the south coast. Unfortunately this wind, in the extent of the regions over which it passes and in its effect on the climate, is far inferior to the south-east trade-wind, under the dominion of which many tracts are for months without any rain whatever. The west, which it reaches after all moisture has been deposited, suffers peculiarly from this drawback. It must always, however, be remembered that the arid portion occupies a comparatively small portion of the continent, and that every year lands which were considered desert are found to be suitable for cattle and sheep.

The conditions of the rainfall in Australia go by extremes. "It never rains but it pours" aptly characterises the manner in which the water pours down from the clouds; in Sydney, on one occasion, ten inches of rain—a quarter, that is to say, of the annual rainfall—fell in two hours and a half. The vegetation of the country is nowhere sufficient to store up such volumes of water, but every year of settlement sees an increasing portion of this precious surplus stored by artificial means.

Except on the coast, where there is a sub-tropical richness of vegetable growth, the vegetation of his native soil greatly assists the Australian in his struggle for existence. The Australian flora of the interior, like that of all steppe regions, is rich in varieties, of which it affords, for example, more than

**Nature of the Vegetation**

Europe; but in its general characteristics of dryness, stiffness, and want of sap, it is quite in keeping with the pervading nature of the country. Australia is, however, productive of a variety of grasses and salt-bush, which furnish nutritive food for sheep and cattle. The characteristic of stiffness and dryness is found in every blade of the notorious Australian spinifex or porcupine-grass plains with their dry, sharp-edged grasses; and we find it most conspicuously in those districts seamed with sandhills, salt plains, and stony tracts, where the steppe becomes a desert, and where only the extraordinary abundance of certain grasses and thorns succeeds in keeping the soil from being absolutely bare. These features, however, are found only in a small area and not at all in the inhabited portion of the continent, which, except in the tropical jungle of the northern districts, presents few obstacles to a settler.

The forest, or, as it would be more correctly called, the Australian heath, with its tree trunks standing far apart and its want of underwood, has never interfered with the wanderings of the natives or the whites. On the contrary, with the vigorous growth of grass which has been able to spring up unchecked everywhere between the smooth, branchless

stems, it has formed a carpet over which the settler could march to the tempting pasture grounds of the hinterland. The economic centre of gravity of the continent lies, even at the present day, in these open forests and meadow-like districts, which are general in all parts of the interior.



COLONISTS HUNTING THE KANGAROO

For some time very successful attempts have been made to increase the value of the drier districts by a system of wells, and the labour expended has already repaid itself many times. With food plants of all kinds the native has not been so stingily provided by the continent as the older accounts seem to assert. The bulbs so characteristic of steppe countries are indeed insignificant in Australia; but in their place the native, who is certainly not fastidious, has at his disposal numerous other roots, various wild kinds of corn, mushrooms, berries, and blossoms, so that there can be no question of any actual lack of food.

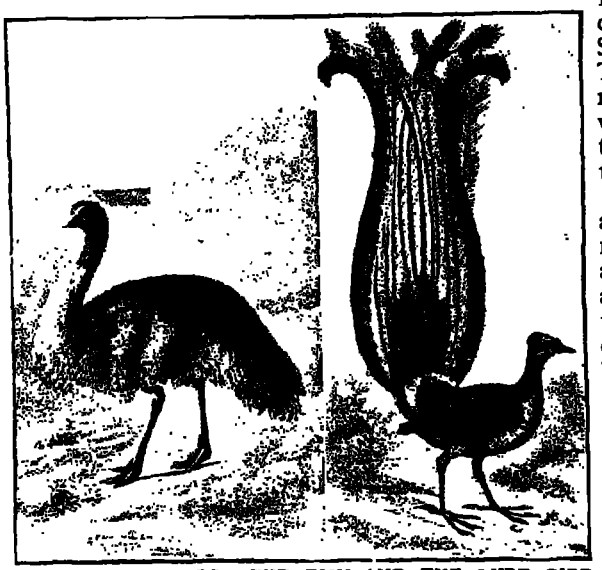
The Australian has been most inadequately endowed with a native fauna. As one might expect from the general physical features of the continent, it is limited; so much so, that it has not provided the aborigines with a single domestic or useful animal. The few animals that might be thought of for such purposes are all considered too wild. The dingo, the only mammal available for domestication, was, in all probability, introduced in a domesticated state and has since become wild. In addition to this, hunting, owing to the fleetness of all animals of the chase, is a very difficult undertaking for the aborigine armed with inadequate weapons; none even of the numerous well-equipped European expeditions have ever been able to provide themselves with food by this means. The nocturnal habits of an unusually large number of animals greatly increase the difficulty of catching them. These difficulties, insuperable for the aborigines, the European has met in the best possible way by introducing European domestic animals. They have all succeeded admirably, have multiplied to an astounding degree, and now represent a most valuable part of the national property; in fact, together with the mineral output, sheepbreeding has contributed the largest share to the marvellously rapid development of the colonies. Even the mineral wealth of the country has entirely failed to affect the position of the native. He, like the Bushman of South Africa, has never gone so far as to employ any metal in its crude state, but meets the European as a fully

**Fauna of the Continent**



AUSTRALIAN NATIVES HUNTING WALLABIES

developed man of the Stone Age, or of a yet earlier stage. The whites have set about all the more vigorously to make use of the mineral treasures of Australia. The opening of the gold-fields about the middle of the nineteenth century certainly marks the most crucial chapter in the history of the Colonies. Even now, when the "gold fever" has long since given way to a normal temperature, the mining industry has all the greater importance for the development of Australia and its position in the great future which we may anticipate for the Pacific Ocean, because its wealth in other useful minerals, especially in coal and iron, is undisputed.



AUSTRALIAN BIRDS: THE EMU AND THE LYRE BIRD

The natural features of Tasmania call for little remark. In the conformation of its surface, a direct continuation of the coast range of East Australia, it resembles in its flora and fauna also the south-east of the continent. On these and, above all, on geological grounds it cannot be separated from the mainland, in comparison with which, however, it is singularly favoured by climate. Tasmania has neither abrupt contrasts of heat and cold nor an uncertain supply of water; a large rainfall is distributed over the whole year, and the temperature has only the range of a genial and temperate maritime climate. There is an abundant and perpetual supply of water both running and stagnant, and Tasmanian vegetation is of a luxuriance such as on the mainland is found only in the more favoured parts of Victoria, or on the northern rivers of New South Wales and Queensland. Tasmania really deserves the name of "Australia Felix," which was formerly given to the south-eastern portion of the mainland.

It may appear at first sight astonishing that from such a favourable foundation the aborigine has not mounted to any higher stage of culture than the Australian, but the explanation is not far to seek. There appears to be no affinity of the Tasmanian and the Australian, yet the intellectual abilities of the two races are on a par. Even in the domain of ethnical psychology, the law of inertia holds good; the better conditions of life enjoyed by the Tasmanian are balanced by the greater isolation and seclusion of his country. The forest and the sea, which runs far inland in numerous creeks, have furnished the native with a more ample diet; but an opposite coast, which might be the transmitter or source of new achievements in culture, was more completely wanting there than even in the case of Australia. The coasts of the mainland were out of the question as promoters of culture; and the Tasmanian navigated the sea only to the most modest extent; longer voyages would merely have brought him to an unprofitable wilderness of water.



AUSTRALIAN ANIMALS: THE DINGO AND THE PLATYPUS



# NATIVE PEOPLES OF AUSTRALIA

## AND THE TRAGEDY OF THE TASMANIANS

WHAT, then, is the state of the inhabitants of these countries, whose external conditions have just been sketched as guides to the historical development, and what is the state of the makers of their history? What place do the primitive inhabitants take in the circle of mankind? Are they autochthonous in their land, or have they immigrated? Have they kinsmen, and, if so, where? And what, lastly, is the composition of the modern non-native population of the continent? We will endeavour to answer these questions.

A satisfactory consensus of opinion now prevails as to the anthropological position of the Australians. The similarity of their methods of life, the uniformity of their attainments in culture and of their habits, and to some degree the identity of the languages, might lead to the erroneous view that they are a homogeneous race, which cannot be grouped with the Malayan or Papuan. Anthropological investigation has now proved that this homogeneousness does not exist, and that the native population of Australia represents, on the contrary, a mixture of at least two very distinct elements. This view finds corroboration in the differences of the colour of the skin and the formation of the hair, and also of the shape of the face.

**Types of Australian Aborigines**

The colour of the skin varies from a true yellow to a velvety black with numerous intermediate degrees, among which the dark-brown tint is far the most common colouring. The hair, too, with a prevalent tendency to curl, ranges from the true straight-haired type to the complete woolly-haired type of the negro. The shape of the face and skull, finally, shows a multiplicity of differences, such as cannot be greater even in nations proved to have a large admixture of foreign blood. The flat negro nose, on the one side, and the typical Semitic nose on the other, form the extremes here. It is thus clearly established that a dark, woolly-haired race and a light, straight-haired race shared in the ancestry of the Australian. But where, then, was their original home? Both races obviously could not be autochthonous at the same time; indeed, the nature of the continent seems to exclude the possibility that it was the cradle even of one race.

**Origin of the Natives**

Whence, therefore, did the two elements of admixture come, and which is the earlier on the new soil? A key to this problem we find even at the present day on the north coast of Australia, in the still existing trade of the Malays with the north-west, and in the immediate vicinity of New Guinea with a Papuan population, which also has a predilection for crossing the group of islands of the Torres Straits to the south. For the migration of the Papuan-Melanesian, or, in more general terms, of the negroid element, no other path than that by New Guinea can be thought of. But two roads were open to the Malayan—the direct road from the Indian archipelago, which even at the present day maintains a connection with Australia, and the detour by Polynesia. We have no evidence that this second one was used; but we know now from the ethnography of New Guinea that its population had a distinct infusion of Malayan-Polynesian blood. But what in the case of New Guinea is demonstrable fact lies in the case of Australia within the range of probability, since the conditions of access to both countries from Polynesia are practically identical.

The question of priority sinks into the background compared with the solution of the main problem. An answer also is barely possible, since the migration from both sides to Australia must not be regarded as an isolated event but as a continuous or frequently recurring movement. A

certain coincidence of time is, under the circumstances, to be assumed.

From another standpoint also the question of priority gives way before that of the predominance of the one or the other element. The point, briefly put, is to ascertain clearly the causes of the wonderful inability of the modern Australian to navigate the sea—a peculiar defect, which has prevented him from settling not only on the more remote of the coasts which face Australia, but even on the neighbouring islands. When we see how the negroes and all the dusky remnants of nations on the southern margin of Africa feel the same dread of the sea, and when we reflect that the nature of his present home has induced the Melanesian to become a navigator, although he is far removed from being a true seaman, we must at once entertain the conjecture that it is the negroid blood in his veins that fetters the Australian so firmly to the sod. Up to a certain point this conjecture is doubtless correct, for the law of heredity holds good in the domain of ethnical psychology. It is impossible, however, to make Papuan ancestry alone responsible for this peculiarity; it has not hindered the Melanesians from arriving, under favourable circumstances, at a fair degree of proficiency in navigation. If the Australian has failed to do the same, it is partly because his circumstances have made him unfamiliar with the sea.

**Native Dread of the Sea**

The full force of this second cause is apparent when we consider the nature of the country, and the extent to which the economic basis of the Australian native's life is narrowed by the poverty and inhospitable character of his surroundings. He who must devote every moment in the day to the task of providing food and drink for his body, and is forced to roam unceasingly as he follows his fleeting quarry from place to place, has neither the time nor the inclination to retain or to develop an accomplishment like navigation, which requires constant practice, and which does not at first seem necessary in a new country. And even if the ancestral Malayan blood had transmitted to the young race any nautical skill, such as we admire to-day among the Polynesians and western Malays, the Australian continent would have put an end to it, for it has always been the country of material anxiety, and, as a consequence, the country of continual decadence.

**The Primal Struggle for Subsistence**

The loss of seamanship is in reality only a sign of this. The aloofness from the outer world engendered thereby was the first step toward that complete disappearance of Australia from history throughout the millenniums that have elapsed since its first colonisation. But other completely remote races have developed a history and a civilisation. It was not only the absolute seclusion from the rest of the world and the unbroken quiet in which Australia reposed, as the corner pillar of the Old World between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, that the entire absence of any historical development of its own was due, but also to the total impossibility of creating a true national life on its niggard soil. The attempts to do so, which the Europeans found on their arrival, can at best be termed a caricature of political organisation.

The Tasmanian has also not progressed far in the field of political development. Since the nature of his country is richer in resources than Australia, economic considerations must be excluded from the list of possible causes. The same remark applies to the small proficiency in navigation, which we noticed also in Australia. The explanation can be found only in that close affinity of the Tasmanian to the Melanesian ethnical group, upon which all observers have insisted. This is primarily shown in the physical characteristics; but, secondarily, it appears in the inability of the Papuan to rise higher than the stage of village communities. New Guinea offers the closest parallel.

**Political Backwardness of Aborigines**

The whites do not belong to the continent, but have made it commercially subject to them, and have thus, in contrast to the aborigines, who have never succeeded in breaking the strong fetters of nature, become the true makers of its history. This history even now looks back on barely a century, a period of time that hardly counts in the life of a people. Yet it has already been full of vicissitudes, even if, in this respect, it has been greatly surpassed by the outwardly similar history of the United States of America.

In contrast with America, which for centuries has been a crucible for almost all the races and peoples of the globe, the immigrant population of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand is unusually



AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES: YOUNG MEN



YOUNG AND OLD AUSTRALIAN NATIVES

homogeneous. It is composed almost exclusively of Britons, by the side of whom the members of other nationalities practically disappear. Even the hundred thousand Germans who have settled there hardly affect the result, especially since their absorption into the rest of the population is merely a question of time. The Chinese, since they never make their home in the country, may be disregarded as factors in the growth of national life.

The ethnical unity of the white population of Australia is of extreme importance for the British Empire. England's dominant position on the Indian Ocean may appear most favourable; but in view of the efforts made by the colonial Powers of continental Europe to strengthen their recently acquired possessions in those parts and to increase their influence generally, this position may grow less tenable. The same turn of fortune is in prospect for England, and all other European colonial Powers, on the Pacific. There it is the cutting of the Central American isthmus which is to the advantage, both strategically and economically, of the United States, above all other Powers, and threatens to give them in the South Seas a great superiority over all rivals. The interests of England are, from the position of affairs, most at stake. It is for this reason a great stroke of good fortune for her that the corner pillar, which both supports the dominions on the Indian Ocean, and is, on the other side, the chief agent of British interests in the Pacific Ocean. is, as it were, a part of England itself. In thought and action, customs and habits, mother and daughter exactly resemble each other. Even in the matter of dress the daughter country has not found it necessary to consider the change of climate.



YOUNG NATIVE WOMAN

This feeling of complete sympathy gives ground for great confidence in the future. The similarity between Australia and Great Britain justifies the assumption that the same community of feeling must reign in every other department of life. This feeling is so strong that even the latest and boldest of all the political steps of the Australian Colonies, their union into the Commonwealth of Australia, which was proclaimed on September

17th, 1900, is regarded in England and Australia alike as taken entirely in the interests of union. Indeed, as the newest conception of the British Empire—as an alliance of self-governing nations united by the ties of kinship—tends to replace the old ideas of headship and subordination, the cohesion of all the parts becomes greater as each independently develops its own resources.

One of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century in the field of ethnology, the art of reconstructing from prehistoric finds the natural history of long-past years, which lie beyond all tradition and written record, fails in Australia.

This does not imply that discoveries of the kind might not be made; quite the reverse. The continent has its *mirnjongs*, or ash-heaps, measuring sometimes ten feet in height, and often several hundred yards in circumference, and containing pieces of bone and stone axes; these are very common in South Australia and Victoria, particularly on Lake Connewarren, and form an exact counterpart of the "kitchen middens" of Denmark. Great heaps of mussel-shells are also found in the vicinity of the sea-shore; there is even one really artistic erection dating from prehistoric times. This ancient monument, as we may fairly call it, is the stone labyrinth of Brewarrina on the upper Darling, some sixty miles above Bourke. It consists of a stone weir a hundred yards or so long, which, built on a rocky foundation, stretches diagonally through the river. From this transverse dam a labyrinth of stone walls reaching some ninety yards up stream has been constructed, which is intended to facilitate the catching of the fish which swim up or down stream. The walls form for this purpose circular basins of from 2 ft. to 4 ft. in diameter; some are connected together by intricate passages, while others possess only one entrance. These walls are so firmly built of ponderous masses of rock that the mighty floods, which sometimes poured down with a depth of 20 ft., were able at best only to dislodge the topmost layers of the stones.

The conclusions which we can draw from the existence of the mirnjongs and the shell mounds, but especially from the Brewarrina Labyrinth, throw some little light on the ancient Australians. Each of the three constructions presupposes in the first place that the population, at least in the south-east, was considerably denser in early times than at the time of the landing of the Europeans; otherwise the piling up of the refuse mounds would imply periods of whose length we could form no conception. The building of the labyrinth also can be explained only by the employment of large masses of men, especially since the materials had to be brought from a considerable distance. But, besides this, it can have been erected only by an organised population.



GROUP OF FEMALE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES



CIVILISED AUSTRALIAN NATIVES

Australian hordes of the present day would be incapable of such combined efforts.

Another circumstance confirms our assumption of the retrogression of the Australians both in numbers and in culture. The boats, whether they consist of nothing better than a piece of bark tied together at both ends, and kept apart in the middle by pieces of inserted wood, or appear in the shape of simple rafts, carry in the middle on a little pile of clay a fire, the modern object of which is merely the immediate cooking of the fish that are caught; but its invariable presence there suggests the thought that it is a survival from former regular sea voyages, when the custom was justified.

This proof by probability that the Australians have retrograded in numbers and in civilisation is all that can be derived from the evidence of the country and the national life. This is no great achievement; but it shows how completely unfavourable natural conditions have overwhelmed the energies and capabilities of the natives. It is, for the time being, impossible to judge the length of the periods with which we have to reckon, or to determine whether a deterioration of the climate has contributed to this decline; such a contingency is not impossible.

After all, we can follow the history of the Australians and Tasmanians only from the moment of their intercourse with the white men. There is no question here of a true development, such as can be traced in all nations except a few border nations in the north and south of the globe. The expression "history" really connotes too much in this case; for all the European civilisation and the white men brought to them tended to one and the same result ultimately —the slow but sure extinction of the whole race. The methods of extermination may differ, but the end is always the same.

In physical geography the expression "geographical homologies" is constantly employed. It is borrowed from comparative anatomy and signifies the recurrence of the same configuration, whether in the horizontal outlines or in the elevation of the surface, which we find in the countries of our globe. The best known of these homologies is the striking similarity in the contours of South America, Africa, and Australia, which, in the words of Oskar Peschel, display as great a uniformity of shape as if they had been constructed after a model. It is not our intention to examine this similarity closely; but we must consider for a few moments that exact correspondence of the southern extremities of those continents, which goes far beyond a mere linear resemblance.

The tapering away into a wedge-like point, facing the Antarctic, which is a feature peculiar to the three continents—if the island of Tasmania is reckoned as part of Australia—is, so far as its shape goes, an excrescence breaking through the general scheme on which their outlines are modelled. The meaning and cause of this precise contour have remained a mystery to men like Humboldt and Peschel. But there is no doubt as to the influence which these vast and lonely promontories, tapering away into the

ocean, have exercised on physical geography and the distribution of culture.

From the first point of view, their position and shape determine the course of the entire circulation of the seas of the Southern Hemisphere. The character of the climatic conditions is influenced by them, and the greater or less degree to which the land masses of the Southern Hemisphere can be inhabited is in the last resort decided by them. On civilisation the effect of this wedge-like shape is exclusively negative. It places the inhabitant of those promontories on the remote, southern edge of the habitable world, cuts him off to the north from the centres of civilisation, and confines him to regions which are continually narrowing. Still more momentous are the consequences on the art of navigation. The vast ocean, limitless and islandless, surrounds each of the three extremities. How, then, should primitive people venture on the high seas when even a highly developed navigation cannot flourish without some opposite coast which can be reached?

**The Southern Promontories of the World**

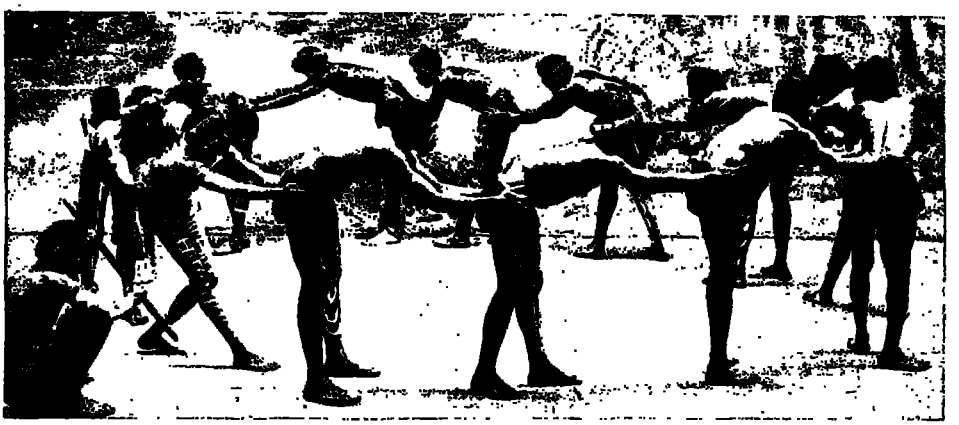
But the homology goes still further for Africa and Australia in a large degree, and in a more restricted degree for South America. It shows itself this time in the destiny of the natives during intercourse with the whites. The Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Australian aborigines at the present time can hardly be called even the fragments of a nation. The aborigine of southern South America has hitherto fared better. Neither Patagonians nor Araucos have, it is true, emerged unscathed from intercourse with the white intruders; but they have been able to retain the characteristics of their race, and have remained free and independent. No careful observer will imagine that this is a consequence of creole courage; what has preserved the Indian hitherto from destruction is merely the political immaturity of his opponents and the insufficiency of their numbers to people the vast territory of South America. The Australians and Tasmanians did not fare so well as the Indians. The Tasmanians have been for a quarter of a century blotted out from the list of living peoples; the same fate impends upon the Australians, and is, to all appearance, inevitable. The Tasmanian tragedy is not only the most gloomy from its dénouement, but has a sad pre-eminence for the large number of sensational details. It opens on May 4th, 1804, when the natives, on approaching the new settlement of Hobart in a friendly spirit, were, through an unfortunate misunderstanding of their intentions, greeted by the English garrison with a volley of bullets; or we can, if we prefer, take the date June 13th, 1803, when the first batch of English convicts landed on the spot where the present capital of the country, Hobart, stands. This year saw the birth of the Tasmanian woman, Trukanini, or Lalla Rookh, who was destined to survive all her tribesfolk. She died in London in 1876. The death struggle of the whole people had thus lasted precisely a lifetime.

**Contrast with South America**

The destruction of the Tasmanians was not accomplished without vigorous resistance on their part. By natural disposition peaceable, harmless, and contented, they had endured for many years the ill-treatment of the transported convicts and the colonists without transgressing the laws of self-defence. It was only after 1826 that, driven to frantic desperation, they amply revenged the treatment they had suffered, and murdered all their tormentors who fell into their hands. The twenty-two years that had intervened do not add fresh laurels to the history of English colonisation, or redound to the honour of mankind generally. In the very first years of the settlement, the hostilities, which, according to the official admission, were always begun by the whites, assumed such proportions, and the oppression of the natives was so harsh, that in 1810 a special law had to be passed which proposed to punish the murder of an aborigine as an actual crime. This remained a dead letter, since it was impossible to obtain legal evidence in the case of blacks, who were despised and possessed no rights. The relation between whites and natives resolved itself into a perpetual series of outrages and reprisals.

**The Tragedy of the Tasmanians**

It was not only by these persecutions that the growth of the Engish colony exercised an adverse influence on the fortunes of the natives. Until the landing of the whites, the sea, with its inexhaustible store of fish, molluscs, and other living creatures, had supplied all their food; but in proportion as the colony increased, with the growth and prosperity of the towns, the advance of the colonists, and



AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES DANCING AT A CORROBOREE OR NATIVE GATHERING

the multiplication and extension of their pasture grounds, the region where the natives could live was curtailed; above all, they were driven away from the coast. But this was a vital question for the Tasmanians, since the rough and wild interior was absolutely wanting in all the means of life. We now understand how these originally timid natives became veritable heroes from desperation, and waged unceasing war upon the whites when and how they could.

The victory of the English was not lightly won. The natives, driven by force into the interior, soon acquired so accurate a knowledge of the country, covered with dense forest and intersected by ravines, that it was difficult to get at them. As Charles Darwin tells us, they often escaped their pursuers by throwing themselves flat upon the black ground, or by standing rigidly still, when, even at a short distance, they were indistinguishable from a dead tree trunk. Unable to control the natives while they lived at large, the English finally resorted to other measures. By a proclamation they forbade the natives to cross a certain boundary. They then, in 1828, offered them also a reservation where the persecuted and pursued might collect and live in peace. Both measures proved futile. The first would never have



NIGHT SCENE OF NATIVE AUSTRALIAN LIFE NEAR SYDNEY A HUNDRED YEARS AGO
Reproduced from an engraving of the year 1844

been really understood by the people, even if they had grasped the sense of the words. For the second, the time was already past: the natives were no longer susceptible to a fair treatment, and the Europeans were not disposed to maintain a pacific attitude. The old order of things continued. Finally, the Governor, Colonel Arthur, endeavoured to sweep the natives into one district by drawing a cordon across the island. The attempt failed ignominiously. An expenditure of £30,000 resulted in the capture of two natives!

**Native versus Colonist**

With the failure of this last attempt at suppression, the tragedy of the Tasmanians enters on another phase. This was free from bloodshed, but was not less disastrous than the former, and is inseparably connected with the name of George Augustus Robinson. This extraordinary man, by trade a simple carpenter at Hobart, and unable to write English correctly, offered, when all warlike measures were ineffective against the natives, to induce them by peaceful overtures to emigrate. We know how thoroughly he accomplished his self-imposed task. Unarmed and single-handed, he attained by pacific negotiations a result which a whole populous colony had failed to achieve in decades of bloody warfare.

Through the mediation of Robinson, one tribe was assigned to Swan Island, three others to Gun Carriage Island. Later, in 1843, all the natives were united on Flinders Island. These "tribes" were by this time not very numerous: powder and shot, smallpox, and other diseases had caused too great ravages during the last forty years. In 1804 the native population was put at 8,000 souls roughly; in 1815 some 5,000 were still estimated to exist. Their number in 1830 reached some 700, and in 1835 had dwindled to 250. In 1845, when the survivors were taken across to Oyster Cove in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel, only 45, and in 1861 only 18, were left. The last male Tasmanian, King Billy, or William Lanne, died in 1869 at Hobart, aged thirty-four, and in 1876 the race of the Tasmanians became entirely extinct on the death of Trukanini—the fate that awaits all primitive races from intercourse with civilisation.

**Extinction of the Tasmanian**

It is idle at the present day to load the parties concerned with reproaches. No nation, vigorously engaged in colonisation, has yet been destined to keep the shield of humanity spotless and pure. It must also be admitted that in later years earnest attempts were made to atone for the wrongs done to the natives in the earlier period. That the wrong methods were chosen is another consideration, which does not do away with the crime, but may be pleaded as an extenuating circumstance.

The knell of the Australians has not yet sounded. The restless race still roams the vast steppes, still hunts here and there the nimble kangaroo, and throws with strength and skill the spear and the boomerang. But how cooped in its once wide domain! The whole of the east, fairly rich in resources even for the rude savage, the north-east and south-east, have long been taken by the white man. Now, in most recent times, the latter is making vast strides from the west into the interior, and the north is being more and more encroached upon. The aborigine is faced by the alternatives of retiring into the desert-like interior, or of being forced to capitulate to civilisation and become the servant of the European. Neither alternative is calculated to perpetuate either him or his peculiar nature. The tragic history of the Australians is distinguished from that of the Tasmanians in two respects: it was of longer duration, and covered an incomparably larger area. Anyone who knows that the political organisation of ancient Australia found practically its only expression in the claim of each single tribe to one definite territory—within the tribe itself the land was at times divided between the various families—will also understand that the rude encroachments of the first Europeans, whether convicts or free colonists, could not fail to provoke grave disputes. Among the natives themselves violation of territory ranked as the most flagrant breach of the peace.

**Australian Aborigines at Bay**

Next to this the class of human beings who were first brought to those shores greatly influenced the form which subsequent conditions assumed. There may be a division of opinions about the value of transportation as a means of punishment or as a measure for colonisation, but there can be no doubt that it has been ruinous to native races, whose fine qualities might have been turned to good account. Tasmania, to give an example in our

own field, has proved this; so, too, New Caledonia and South-west Africa under German rule in the twentieth century; and it was patent in Australia. That shiploads of convicts were disembarked without precautions, and were still more carelessly looked after, is admitted even by the official reports of the time; in 1803 complaints were made that the number of guards was insufficient. Under the circumstances it was very easy for the prisoners to escape into the bush, and they did not fail to use the opportunity.

The consequences for the unfortunate blacks were soon apparent. The first gifts to them consisted of smallpox and liver diseases, brandy and tobacco; and they soon learned to be immoral, foul-mouthed, beggars and thieves. And while the natives were at first peaceable and friendly, the coarseness and brutality of the convicts soon led to their becoming more and more hostile, until they, on their part, began that guerilla warfare which has lingered on for over a century. There has, however, been no lack of good intentions on the Australian continent. The energies of the Government have been more than once directed toward the object of gaining over the natives; the term of office of the first governor, Phillip, was full of such praiseworthy efforts; but there could be no idea of any success unless all the immigrants radically changed their behaviour towards the natives, and the settlers, whose immigration began in 1790, did their honest best to fill the cup to overflowing.

**Influence of the Convict**

English Governments, however, have always endeavoured to mitigate the inevitable cruelties and misunderstandings which result from a collision between settlers and aborigines in a new country.





Beattie, Hobart

LAST TWO MEMBERS OF A VANISHED RACE

King Billy, or William Lanne, the last male Tasmanian aborigine, who died in 1869, and Trukanini, the last native woman, who died in 1870.

Nor was this spirit of humanity lacking even in the convict settlement of New South Wales. In 1839 a voluntary society was founded for the protection of the aborigines, and by its influence a law was passed which provided for the appointment of commissioners who should be responsible for the care of the natives. And now in all the states blacks and half-castes within the settled districts are fed, clothed, housed and taught at the public expense. They also have the privilege of travelling without charge on the Government railways.

The number of the Australian natives has never been actually determined. The highest estimate allows for more than 1,100,000 Australians at the beginning of the European immigration. This figure is certainly far too high, and is universally rejected. Other calculations range from 100,000 to 200,000 for the pre-European period. Beyond doubt the continent was sparsely peopled. So far as aborigines are concerned, it is incomparably more so now; 50,000 is certainly too high an estimate. The diminution of the native population has therefore proceeded at an alarmingly rapid rate. In Victoria in 1836 they were counted to be some 5,000 souls; in 1881 they had sunk to 770. The shrinkage has not been so great in all districts, but it is universal. The birth rate among the natives is nowhere equal to the death rate.

**Decline of Australian Aborigines**

According to the census of 1901 the total number of aborigines on the continent was 20,758, the distribution throughout the various states being as follows: New South Wales, 4,287; Victoria 652; Queensland, 6,670; South Australia, 3,888; West Australia, 5,261. The number would be considerably higher if the half-castes were included.



**CAPTAIN COOK LANDING AT ADVENTURE BAY, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, IN 1777**
A graphic representation of the reception of the famous navigator by the Tasmanian aborigines, who regarded the white men with mingled dread and veneration. The last native Tasmanian died several decades ago, chiefly as a result of the convict settlement of the island, and the race is now quite extinct.



# THE BRITISH IN AUSTRALIA

## AND THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE efforts of the Europeans of Australasia in the field of economics and politics have been crowned with great success. From a corner of the world which Europe during a whole century and a half, from its discovery by Abel Tasman in 1642 to the landing of Phillip in Botany Bay in 1788, had not deemed worthy of any notice, they have conjured forth a state which at the present day needs only a sufficient period of development, independence, and a more considerable population in order to be reckoned as one of the important factors in the making of the history of mankind. These deficiences are such as will repair themselves in course of time.

The history of the discovery of Australia is deeply interesting, both as regards the history of civilisation and of international trade, because its effects have been parallel in many ways to those produced by the discovery of America—both continents required to be twice discovered by the civilised world before it appreciated their value and occupied them permanently. This similarity is expressed even in the intervals of time between the old and new discoveries, which are to some extent proportional to the size of the two land masses. In the case of America, the period that elapsed between the voyage of the Northmen and the voyage of Columbus was 500 years; in the case of Australia little more than a century and a half elapsed between the voyage of Quiros in 1606 through the Torres Strait and the discovery of the east coast by James Cook in 1770. If we consider Abel Tasman's voyages in 1642 and 1644 as the first proper discovery, the interval is considerably diminished.

**Discovery of the Island Continent**

The abandonment of the first discovery was no accident in the case of the two continents; no necessity then existed for bringing the new worlds into the sphere of civilised activity. At the period of the first finding of America, as in the centuries preceding, the centre of gravity of Europe inclined one way—toward the East, which had long supplied all its needs, both material and spiritual. Europe therefore neither understood nor valued the new discovery, and let it sink into complete oblivion.

At the second and final revealing of America the position of affairs was quite altered; in fact, it may be said that the discovery itself was a consequence of the very alteration. Europe, after the year 1000, had gravitated strongly to the East as the Crusades and the prosperity of the city-states of the Mediterranean prove; but since the appearance of the Ottoman Turks the centre of gravity had been considerably shifted, and men felt more and more urgently the necessity of freeing themselves at least from the necessity of trading through Egypt, Syria, and Pontus, and of securing the communication with the south and east coast of Asia by a direct route. There was no cause to abandon this goal, which was at first supposed to have been reached in the voyages of Columbus and his contemporaries, even after it was recognised that the lands reached were a new world.

**A Parallel from America**

Such important economic considerations do not concern the first visits to and subsequent neglect of Australia. The whole story of its discovery comes rather under the head of the search for the great unknown southern continent, which lasted 2,000 years. The search originated with an assumption that the great continents of the Northern Hemisphere must be balanced by similar masses of land in the south. The hypothetical southern continent always excited an interest which was purely theoretic; and herein lies

the explanation why in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that age of practical tendencies, so little attention was paid to the problem. The explorers of the southern seas hoped to demonstrate the existence of this country; but the idea of making full use of it crossed no one's mind. Australia, after the first glimpses of her shores, was allowed to relapse into oblivion. Tasman's first voyage had proved that the ocean was landless for many degrees of southern latitude—that is to say, the presumed continent did not exist in that region. Although Dutch ships had touched or sighted points of the west and north coast of Australia several times since 1606, no one guessed that in this winding course Tasman had circumnavigated a continent. Scientific curiosity was satisfied with the negative conclusions established by his voyage.



**ABEL TASMAN**
The famous Dutch navigator, who, in seeking for the supposed circumpolar continent of the Southern Hemisphere, unwittingly sailed round the continent of Australia.

It is not easy for those who know the great natural wealth of Australia and the beauty of its landscape to realise the disappointment of those navigators who first landed on its shores. It was, indeed, a marvellous misfortune for the continent that the majority of the numerous navigators who set foot on the shore before James Cook were fated to land on spots which were especially bleak, sterile, and inhospitable. This was the case of the Dutchman, Dirk Hartog, who landed on the shores of Shark Bay in 1616; and such were the experiences of the numerous other Dutchmen who in the first half of the seventeenth century set foot on the west, north, and south coasts, Abel Tasman among their number.

**First Impressions of Australia**

The opinion of the Englishman, William Dampier, was, however, fraught with consequences for the continent. This navigator, as successful in piracy as exploration, who, with a mind full of the discoveries of Cortes and Pizarro, in two voyages (1689–1699) at the end of the seventeenth century surveyed a considerable part of the west coast, penetrated to some distance into the interior in search of the rich cities of an antique civilisation. His verdict was crushing enough; according to him the country was the poorest in the world, far inferior to the coast of Portuguese South Africa. No corn grew there, no roots, no pod fruits or vegetables from which food could be got. The miserable aborigines had neither clothing nor houses, and were the most wretched creatures in the world. Compared with these blacks the very Hottentots seemed gentlemen. The results of this report by Dampier, which was unfortunately—as to the part which he visited—only too much based on fact, show themselves in the entire cessation of voyages of discovery to Australia for more than two-thirds of a century, apart from some attempts at colonisation in the country, such as had already been made by the Dutch in 1628.

Even the final and lasting discovery of Australia by James Cook in 1770 did not immediately lead to the exploration of the continent. That far-sighted explorer certainly had such a goal before his eyes when he took possession of the whole east coast, from the thirty-eighth degree of southern latitude as far as Cape York, in the name of his king, for England; certainly the glowing accounts which his companion Banks, the botanist, brought back of the magnificent scenery and the splendid climate were calculated to attract the attention of governments to the possibility of colonising this new earthly paradise. But the political situation was not favourable to such plans. England stood on the eve of her tedious war with the united colonies of North America; she required to guard her position on the near Atlantic, and could not possibly think of following out any plans in a remote corner of the southern seas. And yet the birth of the Australian Colonies dates from the War of Independence in America.

**Birth of the Colonies**

England had, since 1600, transported a large number of her criminals to the Atlantic colonies, where their hard labour was welcome. The convicts were bought by the colonists at sums ranging from £8 upwards, and they became a source of considerable profit to the Government at home. The War of Independence brought this arrangement to an abrupt end in 1779, and England, whose prisons were

soon overcrowded, was compelled to look round for some other locality. Of the districts proposed in Parliament in 1783—namely, Gibraltar, the Gambia territory, and the region of Botany Bay in New South Wales, only the last, from reasons easy to explain, could be seriously considered. Gibraltar did not offer room enough, the transportation to Gambia would have simply meant "the execution of capital punishment by malaria," as the phrase in the Parliamentary report ran. The objections to Australia were only the enormous distance and the difficulties attending the transport of such numbers. In any case the decision of Parliament, in spite of the Royal assent, was not put into action soon enough to anticipate the plan of a certain Mr. Matra, subsequently English Consul in Tangiers. He proposed to settle in New South Wales the numerous families who had been expelled from North America on account of their support of the mother country, and at the same time to improve appreciably the position of England in the trade of Europe by the increase in production which might be looked for. Matra also failed to carry his plan then. The Secretary of State, Lord Sydney, certainly favoured the scheme in 1784, but he finally recurred to the idea of transportation.

**System of Penal Colonies**

In August, 1786, Lord Sydney submitted a memorandum to the Admiralty requesting that arrangements should be made for the transport and convoy of "at least seven or eight hundred convicts." The new settlement was intended to be something more than a prison. It was hoped that it would supply flax, hemp, and timber for naval purposes, and that it would grow a sufficient quantity of "Asiatic products" as "may render our recourse to our European neighbours unnecessary." One ship was to be set apart for women, and a tender was to be employed in conveying to the new settlement a large number of women from the Friendly Islands, New Caledonia, and other parts which are contiguous thereto, where any number might be procured without difficulty.

**Hopes Regarding Botany Bay**



DAMPIER'S FIRST SIGHT OF THE BOOMERANG

One of the exploits of William Dampier, seaman and buccaneer, was the exploration of part of Australia. He afterwards rescued Alexander Selkirk, "Robinson Crusoe," from his island prison.

The text of this memorandum, together with the protests and criticisms of Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., who was appointed the first Governor, and to whose foresight, energy, and humanity Australia owes a deep debt, are printed in the series of historical records published by the Government of New South Wales. Had Phillip's advice been followed and a shipload of free mechanics and agriculturists sent out six months in advance of the main expedition, most of the difficulties which beset the early settlement would have been avoided. But then, as now, the demands of the "man on the spot" were ignored by a British Government; and only the heroism and patience of Governor Phillip extricated the young colony from the starvation and other evils which he had predicted before leaving England as a necessary consequence of faulty arrangements. And even Phillip would have failed had he not left behind him a powerful and devoted believer in the future of Australia — Sir Joseph Banks,

President of the Royal Society, who had sailed with Cook on his voyage and given the name to Botany Bay on account of its varied flora. Next to Phillip, Sir Joseph Banks is the man to whom Australia owes most.

**First landing at Sydney Harbour**

A frigate and a tender of the Royal Navy, six transports, and three store ships, having on board, all told, 1,163 souls, of whom 443 were free, sailed from England on May 13th, 1787. They arrived in Botany Bay between January 18th and 20th, 1788. As, however, the anchorage was bad, and water scarce, Phillip did not disembark his convoy—in fact, no convict ever landed at Botany Bay—but pushed along the coast in search of a better site. His seaman's instinct led him to select Port Jackson, where, as he writes to Lord Sydney, "I had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbour in the world, in which a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security." Sydney Cove was selected as most suitable for landing, and on January 26th this was occupied as the site of the new colony. It was none too soon. Two days after the arrival of the fleet at Botany Bay, and during Phillip's absence, two sail were announced off Botany Heads, and standing for the entrance to the bay. They turned out to be the Boussole and Astrolabe, under Admiral la Perouse. Thus narrowly did the French miss becoming owners of Australia!

In February, 1788, the Governor removed a small number of convicts, under the superintendence of Lieutenant King and some soldiers, to Norfolk Island, which lies almost halfway between NewZealand and New Caledonia. The duty of this minor colony was to manufacture the flax which Cook had found there in large quantities, in order to supply the main colony cheaply and conveniently with material for clothing. King set to work with zeal, planted corn and vegetables, and devoted himself to the manufacture of flax.

But in spite of all efforts it was not possible either here or on the mainland to feed the colony from its own products. The need for some help in the way of provisions was most urgently felt by both countries during the early years. The same need had been felt by some of the early colonists on different parts of the east coast of America, in Virginia and Carolina; and this was the cause of the failure of the great French scheme of colonisation in Cayenne in 1763. Virgin soil is not at once in a condition to feed large masses of inhabitants, especially when it is treated with as little technical knowledge as was shown by the settlers of Phillip and King, no one of whom understood anything of agriculture; besides, the soil of Sydney is not fertile. Again, the criminals, who preponderated in numbers, felt little desire to work. According to Phillip, twenty-three men did more than a thousand convicts. The leading thought of the whole of Phillip's term of office was to increase the number of free settlers and to bring over skilled agriculturists. But when Phillip voluntarily resigned his post in December, 1792, through shattered health, the number of free immigrants was still insignificant. The bulk of private holdings were in the hands of "emancipists," or time-expired convicts, who were hardly more industrious than the convicts themselves.

**Difficulties of Early Settlement**



TWO GREAT FIGURES IN AUSTRALIA'S EARLY HISTORY
Sir Joseph Banks—on the left—accompanied Captain Cook, and afterwards, from his knowledge of Australia, he was able to support in England the policy of Governor Arthur Phillip—on the right—in the latter's heroic efforts on behalf of the settlement of the new colony.

Under the prevailing circumstances, the internal conditions of the colony were terribly disorganised during the first years. The want of provisions, which was felt soon after landing, became so acute in 1790 that for months only half rations or less could be distributed; the cattle that had been brought with the settlers escaped or died, and the first fields which were sown produced nothing. In

addition to this, scurvy broke out from want of fresh meat. The soldiers were disobedient and mutinous, and drunkenness became a besetting vice. Robbery, murder and arson were daily occurrences. In February, 1790, the distress became so acute that the Governor found himself compelled to send 200 prisoners to the Norfo'k Islands, although there was anything but a superabundance of food there. Meanwhile, fresh transports kept arriving from England with prisoners, masses of poor wretches crowded together, more than half of whom frequently died on the long voyage. The survivors were then often so weak that, half dead, they had to be unloaded at Port Jackson in slings like bales of merchandise. On the other hand, provisions, seed corn, and cattle did not arrive.



A SCENE FROM SYDNEY'S EARLY DAYS
Inspection of the convicts, upon their landing at Sydney, by Governor Phillip, the first and greatest Governor of the penal settlement.

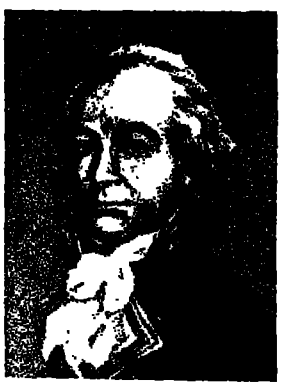
Governor Phillip, in the midst of all this misery, which often forced him to live on half rations like the convicts, never lost heart for an instant. With prophetic instinct, he declared in the colony's darkest hour, "This country will prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made." Amid the mass of duties which devolved on him in the way of constructing houses, laying out gardens and fields, and continually battling with famine and mutiny, he found the time to interest himself in the exploration of the interior; he was desirous of forming amicable relations also with the natives. One thing alone was calculated to fill this patient, dogged man with distaste for his post, and that was the opposition, passive indeed, but all the more obstinate, which his own troops showed to all his measures. As a matter of fact, up to the end of 1790, the Marines, and then the New South Wales Corps, a regiment specially organised for Australia, thwarted every one of his regulations. The soldiers disregarded the Acts of Parliament, in virtue of which Phillip exercised his office, and submitted to military laws only.

**The Man Who Made Australia**

A successor to Governor Phillip was finally appointed at the end of 1795 in the person of Hunter, also a sailor, who had accompanied the expedition of 1787. The interval of nearly three years was filled by the government of two officers of the New South Wales Corps, Major Grose and Captain Paterson. The administration of both is conspicuous for the enormous growth of the abuses against which Phillip had vainly contended. Above all, the general vice of drunkenness had assumed most dangerous dimensions, being chiefly encouraged by the increased trade in spirits, which the soldiers of the militia as well as their officers made their chief business, from want of military duties. The name "Rum Corps" that was soon given to these troops has perpetuated this strange conception of military service. For the colony itself, it clearly involved great losses. The convicts, instead of being educated to be peaceable and industrious families of farmers, were being ruined by the vilest alcohol. As a result, the coarsest immorality, blood-curdling outrages, and inhuman cruelty were the order of the day.

**A Period of Vice and Outrage**

Captain Hunter. the second Governor, was unable to check these evils during the term of his office,. which he held from September, 1795, to 1800. He certainly put an end to the tyranny of the military, and re-established the civil courts which had long been in abeyance. He also, as far as possible, suppressed the distilling of spirits in the colony, and checked the general immorality. But the evils were by this time too deeply rooted to be eradicated so quickly by a somewhat imprudent man like Hunter. Drunkenness therefore continued rife, as did the ordinary quarrels of the whites among themselves and with the natives. Even the enormous tracts of country which Hunter's predecessors had distributed to civil servants and military officers remained in their possession, as well as the excessive number of convicts, whom they ruled despotically like slaves.



THE SECOND GOVERNOR
Captain Hunter, who tried, with some success, to reduce the early convict colony to law and order.

It would, however, be unjust if we judged Hunter's administration by this one side of it; on the contrary, it distinctly promoted the development of the colony in more than one department. The cultivation of large tracts, which was compulsorily enforced by the owners, did much to relieve the scarcity of food—the chief misfortune of the colony up to the nineteenth century; but, on the other hand, it placed the monopoly of all economic advantages in the hands of a few. These were indeed the two objects that Major Grose had contemplated when he made similar regulations in his time.



ORIGINATOR OF SHEEP-FARMING
John MacArthur, who established Australia's chief industry.

The two new achievements by which Hunter's term of office was honourably distinguished are more partial, but not less important in results. Firstly, under him the knowledge of the geography of the continent was widened. This was due to the voyage of Mr. Bass, a naval surgeon, which proved clearly that Van Diemen's Land was an island; to the first exploration of the Blue Mountains; and to the discovery of coal seams near Point Solander. It was also found that the cattle which had run away in the early days of the colonisation had begun to multiply into large herds of half-wild animals; and in this way it was proved that the supposed impossibility of acclimatising cattle did not in fact exist.

The introduction of systematic sheep farming with a view to the wool, which is now one of the most important branches of industry on the continent, is inseparably connected with the name of John MacArthur. During the whole of the unedifying struggle between the Governor and the military, this officer had been the most vigorous representative of the movement in favour of making and selling spirits. He was altogether a shrewd and practical man, to whom among other things the Australian wine trade owes its origin. In 1794 MacArthur procured sixty Bengal sheep from Calcutta, to which he shortly added some Irish sheep. By crossing, he created a breed whose fleeces were a mixture of hair and wool. In 1797, in order to produce a finer wool, he obtained, through the agency of some friendly naval officers, a few sheep from Cape Town. These were, as it happened, fine merinos, a God-send to the continent, for these few animals, and some ordinary Cape sheep, which were subsequently added, were the progenitors of immense flocks, and the foundation of the present wealth of Australia.

The results of MacArthur's breeding were prodigious. When in 1801, in consequence of a duel with a fellow officer, he was ordered to England, he took back specimens of the wool he had grown himself and put them before experts in London. Their verdict was most favourable. MacArthur's proposal, that land and convicts should be assigned him in Australia with the definite object of

providing the English woollen industry with Australian material on a wholesale scale, was favourably answered in October, 1804. Lord Camden, the new Secretary of State, instructed the Governor of New South Wales to concede to MacArthur 5,000 acres in perpetuity for grazing purposes, to give him convicts as shepherds, and to afford him generally every possible assistance. The Governor thereupon issued a proclamation, in which the concession of tracts for sheep farming or cattle breeding was publicly announced. MacArthur himself received the land he selected in the best part of the colony, on Mount Taurus in the cow pasture district, where the half-wild herds of cattle had been found in 1795. There with his original flock, augmented by purchases in England and Australia, he established his breeding farm, which he called Camden Estate, in honour of the Secretary of State. This became the centre of the new and rapidly flourishing wool-growing industry.

**State Help to Encourage Sheep-farming**

Since 1800 the Governor had been Philip Gidley King, a man who seemed more qualified than anyone else to rescue from the quicksands the misdirected fortunes of the Australian colonisation. King is the same man whom we have already met with as Vice-governor of Norfolk Island, where he had displayed excellent qualities in his ten years' struggle against the deficiencies of Nature and the insubordination of his charges. The inheritance to which he succeeded was not hopeful.

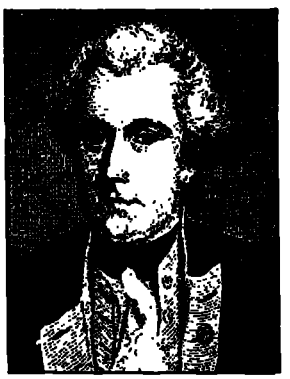
The New South Wales Corps was more powerful than ever in the country, and had just given a proof of its influence in London by effecting the recall of his predecessor. As might be expected, the brandy trade was in full swing; not less than 20,000 gallons were stored in Sydney alone. Even of other wares the civil and military officers had a practical monopoly, which was exceedingly remunerative to them, though it did not bring in the 1,200 per cent. which the spirits paid. King's first step was to check this abuse. Empowered by the Government in London to make the landing of spirits in Port Jackson dependent on his consent, he prohibited, in the autumn of 1800, their importation and sale without a special permission. All that came by ship in defiance of this order was either sent back again—in one year, according to Zimmerman, no less than 32,000 gallons of spirits and 22,000 gallons of wine, although the number of adults in the colony was only 4,200—or was bought by King and sold again at a cheap price. The cheapness ensured only that the usurious trading profits ceased. It is easy to conceive the reception which the measures of King found among the members of the New South Wales Corps, especially when we consider what a strong backing they had in London. Owing to the perpetual European wars the import of Spanish wool to London had come to a standstill, so that the proposals of MacArthur to provide the industry with raw material from Australia

**Energetic Suppression of Abuses**



PORT JACKSON, THE HARBOUR OF SYDNEY, IN 1800
One of the finest natural ports in the world, the first Governor, Phillip, having truthfully reported that in it "a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security."

were thankfully adopted. MacArthur himself obtained a splendid position at home through it, as did the entire New South Wales Corps, whose most influential member he was. Notwithstanding the exasperation of the corps, things did not go so far as open hostility to the Governor. The corps certainly made the Governor's life as unpleasant as possible through the infringement of his regulations in a thousand ways, while King retaliated by limiting the authority of the regiment to purely military affairs. But this did not prevent the Governor from honourably and honestly helping MacArthur in his efforts in wool-growing. Nevertheless the perpetual friction was quite enough to induce King to resign his responsible post in July, 1805. He retired without expecting or receiving thanks from the Home Government, which had always listened to his opponents more attentively than to him. He might, however, take the consciousness with him that he had done good service to the colony. The survey of the western part of the south and east coasts between Cape Stephens (33° S.) and Cape Palmerston (22° S.) which was carried out during King's term of office, as well as the exploration of the Gulf of Carpentaria by Matthew Flinders, were valuable additions to geography, and important for later colonisation. The formal annexation of the continent by means of extensive schemes of settlement was his work. This step was necessitated by the unceasing efforts of the French to gain a firm footing in Australia. King, indeed, impressed upon the French explorers the prescriptive rights of England, but at the same time he thought it expedient to make these rights patent to all by an immediate colonisation of different places. In 1803 Van Diemen's Land was occupied, while, simultaneously with the removal of the convicts, who constituted a common danger, two settlements were founded at Restdown, or Risdon, on the left bank, and Hobart Town on the right bank, of the Derwent. At the same time the first, but unsuccessful, attempt at colonisation from London was made at Port Phillip, the great bay on which Melbourne now lies; and, lastly, the foundations were laid of Launceston, on the north coast of Van Diemen's Land, and of Newcastle, now the second harbour of New South Wales.



GOVERNOR KING

One of the capable early Governors of the penal colony, whose tenure of office was beset with difficulties.

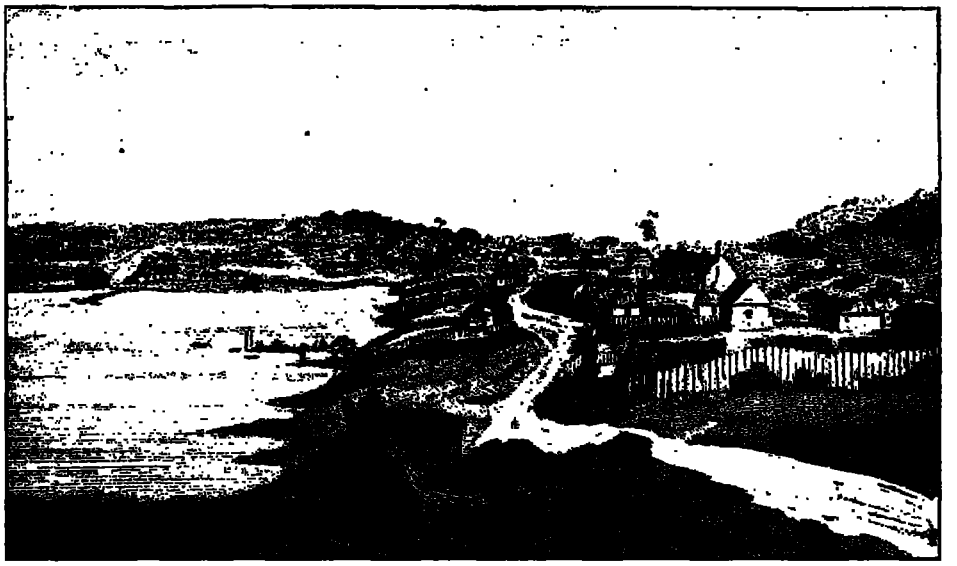
King might also be satisfied with the results of national industries at the end of his career. On the departure of Phillip in 1792, about 1,700 acres were under permanent cultivation, and the number of domestic animals could hardly be reckoned in dozens. In 1796, a year after Hunter's arrival, the number of such animals had reached 5,000, and there were 5,400 acres under the plough. In August, 1798, the figures were 6,000 acres and 10,000 head of cattle; for August, 1799, 8,000 acres and 11,000 head. The white population had amounted to 4,000 souls when Hunter entered on office. On his retirement in 1800, their number was, according to Mossman, 6,000. Under King's five years of government this inheritance had developed into the following dimensions. In 1806, according to Zimmerman, 165,882 acres had been given

**Suppressing Military Monopolies**



RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR KING IN 1804

The Governor's house was situated on Rose Hill in the township of Parramatta. In the foreground on the right of the picture the stocks may be seen.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN OF SYDNEY AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1800

away in estates or reserved for the Crown; of these, 20,000 acres were cleared; 6,000 acres were planted with wheat, 4,000 with maize, 1,000 with barley, 185 with potatoes, 433 served as garden ground. Of the districts allotted, 15,620 acres were held by civil officials, 20,697 by officers; 18,666 acres were the property of 405 "emançipists." There were 112 free settlers; in addition, there were 80 discharged sailors and soldiers, and 13 persons born in the colony. The number of stock was as follows: 566 horses, 4,790 cattle, 23,110 sheep, 2,283 goats, 7,019 pigs; altogether, 37,768 head. The white population amounted to 9,462 persons in 1806. Of these there were 5,172 men, 1,701 women, and 2,589 children.

The successor of King, nominated in 1805, was William Bligh, long well known in geographical circles for the wonderful voyage in the course of which he traversed in an open boat large portions of the Pacific and Indian oceans. Being commissioned, as captain of the ship Bounty, to transplant the bread-fruit tree from Tahiti to the West Indies, he had caused such discontent among the crew by his terrible severity that in the middle of the voyage they placed him with eighteen companions in a boat, in which he eventually reached Batavia, while the rest of the crew either returned to Tahiti or founded on Pitcairn Island the small community which has been so often described.

**Captain of the Bounty**

Bligh's marvellous rescue had not deprived his character of any of its original roughness. As commander of a man-of-war he had provoked a mutiny of the crew by his tyranny, and in New South Wales, also, where he arrived in the middle of August, 1806, he contrived to make himself unpopular from the first by his inhuman severity. He was not, indeed, deficient in an honourable intention of promoting the interests of the colony, which now showed such promise; but he lacked a proper comprehension of his duties. Caprice of every sort, brutal floggings even of free settlers, the razing of houses of which the position dissatisfied him, the compulsory removal of colonists in 1807 from Norfolk Island to Van Diemen's Land—all these were measures which made the new Governor hated. He also by such acts repelled the better class of people, so that he was surrounded with persons of ill-repute in their place.

**Tyranny of the Governor**

The episode which brought the ill-feeling to a head is, as Mr. Jenks expresses it in his "History of the Australasian Colonies," "the most picturesque incident in the early history of the colony." In accordance with his instructions, which required him to continue the measures directed by King against the excessive power of the New South Wales Corps, and, above all, to proceed against the still flourishing brandy trade, Bligh had issued an edict in February, 1807, which absolutely

prohibited the making and sale of spirits, and forbade the erection of distilling apparatus on private property.

Now, MacArthur had ordered some distilling apparatus from England, in connection with his attempts at vine culture. This was taken from him and sent back by the orders of the Governor. The strained relations thus produced between the two men were aggravated by Bligh's accusation that MacArthur had received his 5,000 acres of pasture land by supplying false information. MacArthur's self-justification by reference to the order of the Privy Council was finally answered by Bligh with a command to appear in court, because a convict had fled to one of the breeder's ships. MacArthur refused to pay the fine, and the Governor seized his schooner. MacArthur desisted from supplying the crew with food. The unfortunate sailors therefore landed in defiance of a port regulation. This was enough for Bligh, who at once arrested the crew, and MacArthur for "causing them to commit an illegal act." Even if Bligh had law upon his side, yet his sharp procedure was unwise in view of MacArthur's honourable position.

**Historic Australian Quarrel**



GOVERNOR BLIGH
The captain of the Bounty and the most tyrannous governor of the early Australian settlements.

The indignation of the New South Wales Corps at once vented itself in action. At the instigation of the officers, Major Johnston liberated the prisoner on January 26th, 1808, occupied Government House, and, agreeably to the wish of MacArthur and other prominent colonists, declared the Governor deposed, and sent him as a prisoner on board a ship lying in the harbour. All the executive officials who had supported the Governor were dismissed or arrested, the colony was put under martial law, and, for almost two years, until the arrival of the new Governor on December 31st, 1809, was administered by Johnston and the members of his corps. MacArthur himself, on a fresh hearing of the case, was unanimously acquitted.

The attitude of the British Government toward the unpleasant incident was long in making itself known. The tidings of what had happened had reached England by the end of the year, but there everyone was so occupied with the Napoleonic wars that another year elapsed before any steps against the rebels were decided upon. Lachlan Macquarie was entrusted with the mission. Johnston was brought back to England under strict arrest on a charge of mutiny. All the appointments and assignments of land which had been made after Bligh's arrest were declared null and void, and all the old officials were reinstated. Bligh, who was still living on his ship in Australia, was recognised as Governor, but immediately recalled and replaced by Macquarie. MacArthur was finally expelled from the country. He thus had the hardest lot; keenly interested in its industrial welfare, he was compelled to remain for years far away from the country and his undertakings. It was not until 1817 that he was allowed to return to his Camden Estate. Johnston fared better, since, thanks to the representations made by Macquarie to the proper quarters as to Bligh's character and method of governing, he was merely cashiered. Honours were finally showered upon Bligh himself in England. He became Vice-admiral of the Blue, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He died on December 7th, 1817.

Macquarie had not come across from England alone. On the contrary, he brought a whole line regiment of soldiers with him. This meant nothing less than a complete change of system. The New South Wales Corps was incorporated into the English Army and withdrawn from Australia for ever; the Governor henceforth had at his disposal disciplined Regulars instead of a corps which had been ruined by twenty years' sojourn in a penal colony. Macquarie had generally a much easier position than any of his predecessors. Twenty years of work had produced valuable results, notwithstanding all hindrances and cessations, and after King's careful tenure of office the colony had made great advances in prosperity. In 1810 there were already 11,590 white colonists; 7,615 acres were under the plough; the number of cattle reached 12,442, that of

**Military Problem Solved**

sheep 25,888; the taxes brought in nearly £8,000 annually.

Under these favourable conditions the energy of Macquarie could be principally devoted to matters of a positive and executive nature, as was most in keeping with his disposition. In this respect he was the direct opposite of Bligh, whose abilities were merely directed toward the repression of abuses, while he displayed no sort of talent for organisation. Macquarie's first care was to establish well-regulated conditions in Sydney. He nearly rebuilt the town; the construction of new streets, the organisation of police, the erection of public buildings, especially schools and churches, the laying out of promenades—all this is his work. In 1816 the first bank was set up, followed three years later by a savings bank. He made it his object to construct good roads in the vicinity of the town, as well as to regulate the courses of the rivers. He especially encouraged the cultivation of the soil in every direction, and not least so by extreme liberality in grants of land. This liberality, coupled with the extensive demands for public—that is to say, home—assistance for his reforms, exposed him even then to much censure, both in England and Australia.



GOVERNOR MACQUARIE
One of the wisest Governors of the early colony and the maker and organiser of Sydney as a town.

Macquarie's efforts to extend the range of colonisation were not less meritorious than his attempts to raise the moral tone and develop the industries within the colony itself. His four predecessors had all been sailors, whose interest in geography was exhausted by voyages of discovery along the coast. The contour and shape of the Australian continent had, it is true, been definitely ascertained by them, but for a full quarter of a century after the landing in Botany Bay nothing more was known of the interior than the narrow strip of land between the coast and the Blue Mountains looming in the west, which had always been considered impassable. Macquarie urged the colonists to new efforts, and finally, in 1813, Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson discovered a way through the mountains, and found beyond them immense plains of fertile country. Macquarie, in spite of the hundreds of miles of most difficult ground between Sydney and the new territory, at once set about constructing a road, which was ready to be opened in 1815. At the same time the town of Bathurst was founded as the centre of the newly opened up country, which soon became the seat of a brisk wheat-growing industry and the source of the rapid prosperity of the colony. New South Wales owed this renewed prosperity largely to the favourable period at which its discovery and exploitation had taken place. With the close of the Napoleonic wars, England's hands were untied; even private persons revived their interest in the oversea possessions. New South Wales now became the goal of a continuously swelling stream of emigration, which added to the existing settlers a large percentage of free colonists, who were either time-expired soldiers or discharged convicts.

**Exploration of the Interior**

**Swelling Tide of Prosperity**

Macquarie himself was by no means friendly to the newcomers. From the very first he supported the view "Australia for the convict," and tried by every means to check the influx of free immigrants. In 1818 he actually carried a measure by which these latter were deprived of the free passage which had been customary since the founding of the colony. The results turned out quite otherwise from what Macquarie expected. The small man indeed kept away, but not the man of means. The latter, however, could at once set to work on a large scale. He required only to buy sheep, the Government supplied him with land and with convicts as shepherds. Thus he became a large landed proprietor; but the convict was not the least helped by Macquarie's measures. In spite of all his popularity, the obvious favour which he showed to the emancipists provoked a feeling against him among the free settlers.

A special commissioner, Mr. Bigge, was sent from England in 1818 to make an inquiry into the condition of the colony and the administration of the government, and on the receipt of his report in 1821—

which still remains the best authority for the condition of the colony since the departure of Governor Bligh—Governor Macquarie was recalled. The unfavourable attitude of the Government towards him was intensified by the outcry of the great landed proprietors. These claimed wide tracts of land for their grazing farms; but the Governor was pledged to support the small proprietors who had been convicts previously. This was sufficient incentive to the now powerful wool industry to advocate the recall of Macquarie, which took place in 1821.

**Recall of a Governor**

Macquarie had still more reason to be satisfied with his results than King. Even the statistics presented a quite different aspect. In 1821 the white population of the colony was estimated roughly at 39,000 souls; 32,267 acres were under cultivation; there were 103,000 head of cattle, 4,564 horses, and more than 250,000 sheep. The annual revenue of the community was £30,000 sterling. Besides this, internal affairs were splendidly organised, and there was confident hope that the stream of immigration would not dry up. In short, the departing Governor might fairly feel that it was his own diligent activity for eleven years that had extricated Australia from her seemingly hopeless position in the swamp of corruption.

Macquarie's entrance into office had brought with it a change of system in the administration, and a similar change signalised his departure. The former had substituted the civil administration for the military; the latter put the beginnings of a constitution in the place of the autocracy. All the governors of the colony had been hitherto practically despotic; they had marked out the methods of colonisation according to their own judgment, and embodied in themselves the legislative power; they were indeed the ultimate court of appeal. They were, it is true, responsible to the British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies; but London was far away, and the political situation in Europe guaranteed sufficiently that too much notice would not be taken of Australia. Bligh's motto, "My will is the law," is characteristic of this view. So long as the majority of the population consisted of convicts or was descended from them, unlimited authority might be concentrated in one hand; but as soon as the free population predominated, this situation was impossible. Even in 1812 the creation of a board of assessors, composed of officials and colonists, had been suggested, but Macquarie had considered that such an institution, which had proved its value in all other English colonies, was unsuitable for Australia.

**Beginning of a Constitution**

After his departure, the limitation of the power of the Governor was an accomplished fact. The New South Wales Judiciary Act, which received the Royal Assent on July 19th, 1823, adopted most of the recommendations of Bigge's report. A Legislative Council of not more than seven or less than five members, nominated by the Governor, was created, but its functions were purely advisory, although the Governor's power to impose taxes was limited to taxes for local purposes. If the Council disapproved of the Governor's action, its objections were submitted to England, where the Colonial Office gave a final decision. In the one case of a rebellion the Governor had dictatorial power.

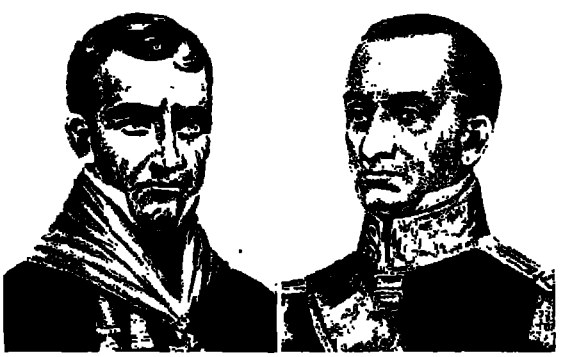
On the legal side, the reforms were also extensive. Hitherto the Governor had been the highest court of appeal in all questions of law; now these were absolutely withdrawn from his decision in favour of a supreme court of judicature on the English model, and the jury system was introduced. The only right retained by the Governor was the remission of sentences on criminals, subject to the approval of the English Government. The first Governor who ruled under these new forms was Sir Thomas Brisbane (1821–1825), but that they were strictly adhered to and achieved the results intended was entirely due to the accident which caused the appointment to the first Chief Justiceship to be in favour of a sound and fearless constitutional lawyer. To Francis Forbes is due the subordination of the executive to the law, and the firm application of the British legal principle that a wrongdoer cannot plead in justification the command of a superior officer. Thanks to Forbes, the administration of Sir Thomas Brisbane kept strictly within the limits imposed on the Governor; but, in compensation, he devoted his chief attention to the further exploration and opening up of the country. The course of the Murray and Murrumbidgee was now traced; the country was traversed diagonally as far as the south coast in the vicinity of modern Melbourne, the shores of

**Legal Reforms Introduced**

Queensland and North Australia were explored, and the continent secured from the renewed designs of the French by settlements on various outlying points. The first observatory on Australian soil was constructed by Brisbane at Parramatta.

Brisbane gave the perpetually increasing number of free immigrants the land for grazing purposes free, and conceded to the Australian Agricultural Company, founded in England in 1824 with a capital of £1,000.000, not less than 1,000,000 acres of land near Port Stephens and in the Liverpool Plains. He encouraged production and trade in every way; in 1825 there were 45,514 acres under cultivation; more than 4,000 cwt. of wool was exported, and some thirty Australian ships were engaged in fishery and commerce. The incomings (over £70,000 sterling) had more than doubled since 1821.

Two other important and essentially different events fall into the term of Brisbane's office: the separation of the island of Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales, and the official declaration of the freedom of the Press. The former was decreed in 1823, and took effect in 1825; the latter was announced in 1824, but its actual application was postponed until the administration of Bourke.



TWO OF AUSTRALIA'S PROMINENT GOVERNORS
Sir T. Makdougall Brisbane—on the left—pursued the unwise policy of encouraging indiscriminate immigration, and his successor, Sir Ralph Darling—on the right—fought against the freedom of the Press.

Brisbane's successor was another military officer, Sir Ralph Darling, who ruled the destinies of the colony from 1825–1831. His lot was not cast in easy times. As a legacy from his predecessor he inherited a difficulty with the colonial Press, which was unrestrained in its attacks upon the measures of Government, and exercised a dangerous influence upon the convicts. By the Constitution of 1823 it was provided that no Bill should become law without the certificate of the Chief Justice that it was not repugnant to the laws of England. Immediately upon his arrival Governor Darling, acting upon instructions from England, carried a measure imposing an annual licence upon newspapers. Forbes, who sympathised with the views of the paper principally aimed at by the measure in favour of an extension of popular government, refused his certificate. Darling retaliated by a measure imposing penalties for the publication of seditious or blasphemous matter and another putting a duty upon newspapers. Forbes again refused his certificate. The dispute was ended by the new Constitution of 1828, which gave wider legislative powers to the Council established in 1823 and increased its numbers to fifteen. The necessity for the Chief Justice's certificate was abolished. Darling at once reintroduced a Newspaper Bill, the harsher provisions of which were subsequently modified at the instance of the British Government. The new Council also dealt with the jury question and a law passed excluding emancipists from serving on criminal juries. By a Rule of Court of the same year the professions of barrister and attorney were formally divided, and regulations drawn up governing admission to them. This Constitution Act also abolished the Grand Jury and substituted in its place the Attorney-General, "in whose name all offenders should be prosecuted by information."

This system continues to the present day. Darling's recall was due to an unfounded attack upon him, engineered by the Press. The charges were investigated in Sydney and by a Parliamentary Committee in London, and Darling was absolutely acquitted of all wrongdoing. But before his character was thus cleared he had quitted Australia.



# THE DAWN OF A NATION

## AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE period 1831–43 marks a transition from the old to the new in the history of the colony. The abuses of officialdom are curbed. Free settlers are already more numerous than bond. The country is settling into the normal conditions of English life. Capital in abundance has flowed into the country; and merchants share with pastoralists the responsibility for public affairs which is felt instinctively by the leaders of society in any British community. Consequently we read less of squabbles with the Governor, and more of movements and policies.

**The Land Question**

The first sign of national self-consciousness was a demand to control the public lands. Previously to 1824 lands had been practically given away at the Governor's will, the only incumbrance being an insignificant quit rent and the obligation to employ one convict to every hundred acres. Governor Brisbane had made these conditions more stringent and had abolished free grants. But the demand for land increased, as Bigge's report made the favourable conditions of Colonial life more widely known. In 1824 the Colonial Office directed that 5s. per acre should be the upset price of land and that no one person should be allowed to purchase more than 9,600 acres.

The object of this limitation was to suppress the speculation in land which was then rampant. The land was to be reserved for bonâ fide settlers, and, further, only so much was to be cultivated as the needs of the colony required. The object finally was to look to the future with its growing claims for land. The results did not correspond to the unwearying solicitude of the Government. On Darling's departure, the area of the land sold or leased amounted to 3,422,000 acres, which obviously could not be kept entirely under cultivation by the 51,155 white colonists. In the short period from 1831 to 1835, this number increased by no less than 585,000 acres, which had been purchased by auction. The Government had realised by this sale the sum of £202,600; but it could not fail to see that only the smaller part of these estates had been bought with the immediate object of cultivation; the vast majority were merely bought as a speculation. This applied to the 1,548,700 acres, which had been publicly sold in the years 1836 to 1840.

The area expressed by these figures was far too gigantic to be required by the real demand for land, notwithstanding the brisk immigration of those years. Nevertheless these figures testify to the enormous impetus which was then given to the prosperity of the colony, a prosperity which was indeed interrupted at the opening of the "forties" by a disastrous industrial crisis. Its beginnings were foreshadowed in the figures for the years 1839 and 1840: 1836, 389,500; 1837, 368,600; 1838, 315,300; 1839, 285,900; 1840, 189,400 acres.

**Evils of Squatting on the Land**

Hardly less than the trouble caused by the speculative purchaser of land was that which arose from the common practice of "squatting." This is a word which originally came from North America; but the practice designated by the word proved more important for the development of Australia than for the history of the United States. This process of squatting was extremely simple; sheep or cattle breeders, on their own responsibility, without any authorisation, and without payment of purchase money or quit-rent, took possession of tracts of country for grazing purposes, and thus withdrew them from any possibility of being legally divided among later candidates.

It was in the first place essential for the squatter's trade of stock breeding that the "run" which he appropriated should cover a large extent of country.

Moreover, if endless quarrels and disputes were to be prevented among the owners of the herds, no other expedient was left for them except that of all pastoral societies under simple conditions, indeed of all primitive farming generally; that is to say, since the country offered no natural boundaries, and there was no inclination, time or means to erect artificial boundaries, a clear demarcation was obtained by leaving broad tracts unused between the separate estates. There was in fact a reversion to the most primitive type of boundary; that which consists of a strip or border of land. It is a type still to be found in the case of African village communities, which are often surrounded by zones of wilderness or forest; it was prevalent in Europe of the Dark Ages, and some German villages had boundaries of this kind down to the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

The most complicated difficulties were thus produced for the Government. It had declared at home that the whole continent was its property, and all land belonged to the Crown. In this way it possessed the incontestable right to dispose of the land at pleasure; but, on the other hand, the equally incontestable obligation was imposed on it of directing its distribution in such a way that all who shared in the most important duty of developing the colony—mother country, Colonial Government, and settlers alike—might have their rights secured. This was, however, no easy task, owing to the conflict of interests between large landed proprietors and small farmers, between cattle breeding and agriculture, which had rapidly been produced under the squatter system.



SIR RICHARD BOURKE
This Governor's unfortunate attempt to solve the land question contributed to the grant of a constitution in 1842.

The "squatting" difficulty presented itself to Sir Richard Bourke (1831–1838) as that which pressed most urgently for a solution. Unwitting that Australia had not reached that stage in her development when small holdings were desirable, and that the carrying capacity of unimproved land for sheep—which had now become the mainstay of the colony—was not more than a sheep to five acres, he endeavoured to discourage the holding of large "runs." Undoubtedly the system had led to abuses; but in the absence of a plentiful supply of labour pastoral occupation is practicable only over large tracts. As a beginning to clear his path the Governor issued a decree declaring that no one could acquire or had acquired any title to Crown Lands by mere occupancy; and, in 1837, made the right to squat dependent on the payment of a fee of £10 annually. Whoever paid it had a right to settle on any unoccupied lands. This was resented by the party of self-government as being arbitrary taxation, and was one of the causes which led to the Constitution of 1842.

**Attempt to Settle the Land Question**

**An Unwise Decree**

One of the measures adopted by Sir Richard Bourke, on the recommendation of his Council, had a disastrous effect in encouraging speculation in land. Possessed of the Old World idea that men would not go far to occupy land if they could own a freehold nearer the capital, the Governor was persuaded that the upset price of 5s. per acre was too high and induced squatting. He was, therefore, empowered to reduce this to any lower minimum he thought fit.

As might be expected, even these arrangements did not remove all the deficiencies which are connected with a young pastoral industry. Stock, indeed, flourished, and their profits were enormous. In 1839 there were reckoned to be a quarter of a million of cattle and more than a million sheep. The revenue of the colony was also materially increased by the grazing tax, then fixed at £10 annually, to which were added payments of one penny for every sheep, threepence for every ox, and sixpence for every horse; and the enterprising spirit of the sheep farmers alone had made the colony economically independent. Of the export trade, which had risen in 1840 to £5,000,000 sterling, by far the greater part was due to the wool industry.

But two drawbacks of the system are incontestable: firstly, the uniformity of the tax brought great grievances with it; and, secondly, pastoral enterprise on a large

scale, the form of industry which alone was encouraged by it, exercised a far-reaching, but not beneficial influence on the entire social development of the white population of the continent. The right to occupy land thus depended on the payment of the fee, but after that the choice of locality as well as the quantity of land were entirely in the discretion of the colonist. Under these circumstances, most of the estates were far larger than was required to graze the stock of the owner, even if full weight is given to the often pleaded excuse of the growth of the herds; and properties as large as a German principality were not uncommon. This mattered little, so long as free land was available and to spare. But when the supply grew limited these enormous estates were felt to be hindrances on colonisation, and the more oppressively so since the gross disproportion between the holdings was now obvious to all.

**Enormous Land Holdings**

A few instances show for what the proclamation of 1837 is responsible in this respect. Apart from the inconsiderately large assignment of land to the Australian Agricultural Company—one million acres—and the gifts to the officers and the officials of the New South Wales Corps, the concessions of land in the first decades of the century had been confined within very modest limits. Even the most wealthy man could not call more than a few hundred acres his own. How different was the position of the pastoral kings of the 'forties and 'fifties! When Governor Gipps, in 1845, made a searching inquiry into the property of some colonists, he ascertained that in one district eight persons with eight licences occupied 1,747,000 acres, while in the same part nine others with nine licences had only (!) 311,000 acres. The four largest stock breeders of the colony owned 7,750,000 acres—that is to say, they were masters of a territory nearly twice the size of Yorkshire.

The colossal size of such tracts of property could not but be harmful to the community. The pastoral industry requires, on the one hand, immense tracts; on the other, and especially under the favourable climatic conditions of Australia, it has no use for a large supply of labour; even the largest sheep farmers retain very few hands in permanent employment. The immediate result is a twofold loss to the entire population. The wool clip brings large sums of money into the country, which, instead of circulating, remain in the hands of a few, and thus encourages capitalism. Closely connected with this is the impossibility of raising the density of the population above a certain minimum rate. Where hardly a dozen hands are employed on hundreds of square miles, and where, further, the settlement of other independent colonists would diminish

**Australian Economic Conditions**



CHARACTERISTIC SCENE ON THE PASTURE LANDS OF NEW SOUTH WALES

the profits of the sheep owner, it is impossible for the population to become dense. As a matter of fact, even at the present day, the rural population of the interior is trifling in comparison with that of the towns on the coast.

Still more serious, however, than all these defects in the Regulations of 1837 was the immunity of the greater part of the land to which claim was laid from the payment of the grazing tax, since it inevitably jarred upon the popular idea of justice. A man who was fortunate, or sufficiently unscrupulous, could acquire a kingdom for his £10, while his neighbour could call only a few clods his own. As a matter of fact, the owner of the above-mentioned gigantic tracts had not paid a penny more than any other colonist who had obtained land after the promulgation of the regulations. Sir George Gipps, who had been at the head of affairs in Sydney since 1838, attempted to check the extension of squatting, and issued a proclamation with retrospective force, by which every squatter was bound, for the purpose of



THE HOME OF AN EARLY SQUATTER



LATER STYLE OF SQUATTER'S RESIDENCE

maintaining his existing title to his property, to buy at least 320 acres of land by auction; any improvement to the land would be taken into consideration. If he did not do this, he exposed himself to the risk of being ousted from his position by any other squatter who had conformed to the prescribed conditions.

This proclamation met with the worst possible reception from the people. Three hundred and twenty acres, which form a large farm in Europe, could not in most parts of Australia support a single family at a time when there was no labour for intension culture. The only result was to stimulate the purchase of land, in which too much of the colony's capital was already locked up. Sir George Gipps, however, carried the day. He impressed upon the Home Government that the continuance of the practice which had hitherto obtained would soon deprive the Crown of all available land; and by this argument, and by proving that the greatest outcry was made by the largest landed proprietors, he succeeded in upholding his enactments; only in small points was any consideration shown to the squatters. In 1892, a new law was promulgated which fixed the minimum price for an acre at £1 sterling. The sales of land fell off still more. In 1843, 4,800 acres, and in 1844 only 4,200 acres, were sold. It was only when the crisis ended that these figures improved once more to 7,200 acres in 1845, and 7,000 acres in 1846.

The change for the better coincides with the fall of the Ministry of Peel on June 26th, 1846. The new Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, at once returned to the old paths and allowed the concession of pasturage rights for fourteen years, with the right of pre-emption. At the same time the regulations as to the recovery of the quit-rent were considerably modified. The land legislation in the succeeding year went still farther in this direction, since, on March 9, 1847, the Governor of New South Wales received authority to let, in the uncolonised districts, tracts of 16,000 or 32,000 acres for eight or

fourteen years. Each lessee received with his contract the right to acquire 640 acres at the fixed price of £640 sterling as a homestead, and to have the lease renewed after the expiration of the fourteen years for a further term of five years. The rent was based on the number of the head of stock; a run which was large enough for 4,000 sheep was to cost £10 sterling. The lease at the same time gave the lessee the right of pre-emption. The land question in New South Wales thus obtained its definite settlement for a decade and a half. On the whole, it cannot be denied that the proclamation of 1844 was bound to injure the colony if we reflect on the bad economic conditions of Australia. This was intimately connected with another question, the difficulty of obtaining labour.

**Conditions of Land Acquisition**

During the first four decades of Australian history the demand for labour was adequately satisfied by the assignment of convicts to settlers. But in 1822, in consequence of the publication of Bigge's Report, the immigration of freemen began to assume large proportions; but the increased demand for land more than absorbed the additional supply. Wages, which had been a matter for Government regulation, began to be determined by the market rate. The distance from Europe had acted as a protective duty, and led to the establishment of manufacturing of woollen cloth, hats, earthenware, pipes, salt, candles, soap, beer, leather, and many other articles in common use, so that Wentworth, writing in 1819, and not foreseeing the cheapening of freights, anticipated that the time was near when the necessity of importing manufactured goods from England would cease. Mr. Tregarthen, who writes upon this subject with special knowledge, estimates that "previous to 1836 the average daily wage of mechanics in building trades was almost 6s. 6d., and farm and other labourers, taking one year with another, were paid at the rate of about £18 per annum, with food and lodging."



SIR GEORGE GIPPS
This Governor's efforts to settle the question of land tenure were ill-advised and caused great discontent.

During the years following 1836, larger numbers of free immigrants came to Australia, bringing with them a higher standard of living, and consequently a desire for better wage than that previously paid. Competition with convict labour had hitherto so degraded the free workers that, as a rule, they were willing to live upon a wage so small as compared with the current prices of commodities as to render it impossible for them to maintain even a semblance of decency, to say nothing of comfort, and even after the class of assigned servants had been largely diluted by free immigration, the convicts, emancipated or bond, comprised one-third of the total population, and had a proportionate influence on the labour market. But as the colony grew, and the demands of the settlers for assigned servants became far in excess of the supply, the influence of the convict element was to a great extent removed. Wages rapidly rose, and about four years after the arrival of the first assisted settlers the prospects of the working classes greatly improved.

The commercial crisis of 1843, which shook the very foundations of the new settlement, was, like all such crises, the sign of a legitimate but over-strained prosperity. The success of the colony in attracting immigrants proved for a time its undoing. By the advice of his Council, Sir Richard Bourke set apart the proceeds of land sales as a fund for paying the expenses of free immigrants, who, in consequence, entered the colony in a steady flow after 1837.

"The new arrivals were greedily looked for and warmly welcomed by the settlers, and all industrial pursuits revived amazingly. With the increase of enterprise, wages rose, and the standard of living was greatly improved. The thrifty and industrious found that, with the expenditure of the same amount of energy which was required at home to keep the wolf from the door, they could earn sufficient to live in comparative comfort and luxury. Glowing accounts went to England of the magnificent prospects of the colony, while the demands of the increased and more industrious population caused a rapid expansion of trade and commerce. The eyes of European capitalists were attracted to Australia as a possible field

**The Influx of Labour and Capital**

for the profitable investment of their money, and capital soon began to flow into the country with a stream relatively greater than even the stream of immigration. There were already two large banks in existence, the Bank of New South Wales and the Bank of Australia; now four new banks were established, to say nothing of other loan and trust companies. With increased facilities for borrowing came an increased desire to borrow, and enormous transactions in land and live-stock took place all over the country, payment usually being made by long-dated bills on one or other of the banks. The prospects of the colony seemed excellent and fascinating, dreams of rapidly acquired fortunes began to float before the eyes of farmer, pastoralist, and merchant alike."

In this feverish condition of affairs the Government policy of restricting land sales proved an additional factor of disturbance. Australia cannot be a country of small holdings, and English ideas on the proper size of an estate were ludicrously inadequate. The Secretary of State, no doubt, considered that a holding limited to 320 acres was a liberal allowance to any settler; while the Governor, not appreciating the almost unlimited extent of good land in the colony, feared to exhaust the Crown's domains. The consequence of this limitation of sales was to increase the price of private lands. In the meantime money was abundant; four new banks had been established, making six in all, and each was eager for business. Advances were freely made—in many cases far in excess of the value of the mortgaged property. Mr. Tregarthen quotes an instance in which £10,000 had been lent by one bank, which only returned £100 per annum when taken over by the mortgagees. Meantime, wages increased and notes were replacing gold in currency. Finally, in 1843, the whole unsubstantial fabric collapsed.

**Beginning of Financial Crisis**



WILLIAM CHARLES WENTWORTH
A native of Australia and chief agitator for a constitution.

"The men who had been living luxuriously on other people's money"—again we quote Tregarthen, because the passage describes equally well the later crisis of 1892—"found themselves brought up with a round turn, and at once tried to realise what they could. Property upon property was forced into a market in which all were sellers and none buyers, and prices fell to ridiculous figures. The rebound was even more unreasonable than the inflation. Sheep were sold by the sheriff's officer for sixpence per head, and large stations near Yass and on the Hunter River sold, land and all, at the price of about three shillings per head for the sheep which were on them; cattle bought at six guineas each were parted with for three-and-sixpence per head. Houses and personal property all went the same way. Carriages, which in the prosperous days had cost £140, sold for £3, and were run as cabs by the servants of the late owners."

**A Time of Great Panic**

The national self-consciousness which found expressions in the effort to resume the use of Crown lands for the people generally was also manifested in a movement for constitutional reform. The party was headed by a young native of the colony, William Charles Wentworth, who had returned to Sydney upon taking his degree at Cambridge. Governor Bourke yielded one important step to Wentworth's demands in 1831 by consenting to place the estimates of expenditure before his Council. But he roused the ire of the reformers by his licence fee on squatters. Wentworth, at a public meeting in 1833, denounced this in correct style as "taxation without representation," and became president of a Patriotic Association, which was formed to secure self-government for the colony, and to that end petitioned the House of Commons and maintained a parliamentary agent in London. These representations so far prevailed that in 1842 the English Parliament passed a new Constitution for New South Wales. The Council was increased to thirty-six members, twenty-four of whom were to be elected, and District Councils were formed to administer the funds for the police and local works.

The new Council, which met in August, 1843, soon came into conflict with the

Governor, Sir George Gipps, over his Land Regulations. Wentworth declared the collection of licences to be "taxation by prerogative." Gipps, however, held to his own scheme and the dispute was still unsettled when he handed over the Governorship to Sir Charles Fitzroy (1846–1851), under whose rule the struggle for free institutions continued.

**Agitation for a Constitution**

But before recounting the details of this struggle it will be convenient to group together the events connected with the successful opposition to convict importation, which was closely connected with the movement for self-government.

During the first four decades of the colonial development of Australia, the question whether the introduction of English convicts was useful or harmful did not come forward. It was only at the time when the free settlers began to outnumber the others, and the influx of respectable English countrymen produced an adequate supply of free labour, that a movement made itself felt in favour of checking or diverting the still numerous arrivals of criminals from the Old Country. In favour of this agitation was the noticeable fact that the presence of so many persons of low morality in the country had a most detrimental effect on the characters of both old and young. Out of 60,794 inhabitants of New South Wales, there were, in the year 1833, no fewer than 16,151 convicts, and in 1836, 27,831. Many of these, however, would return to England at the expiry of their sentence. The number of crimes and misdemeanours committed by these convicts reached an alarming figure. The colony received an annual subsidy of £200,000 to defray the cost of maintaining the convicts, and out of the subsidy there was a substantial balance available for public works. The system also meant cheap labour. But these were poor set-offs to the moral degradation for which the system was responsible—so at least thought one party of the colonists. At the same time, it had been observed that transportation was to blame for an increase of crimes. While the population of England had increased between 1805 and 1841 by 79 per cent., the number of crimes had risen by 482 per cent.; and from 1834 to 1845 as many as 38,844 prisoners were transported. Transportation, however, was not reckoned as a punishment in the circles which it concerned. It was owing to this movement that a commission appointed by the lower house recommended that the transportation of criminals to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land should at once be discontinued, and expressed its opinion that it was desirable to facilitate the emigration of prisoners to other countries when they had served their sentences. These resolutions went too far for some Australians, although they had so often petitioned for the discontinuance of transportation. They feared to lose the cheap labour hitherto available, and begged, therefore, but without success, that the existing arrangement should be continued. The penal colony of Moreton Bay, established in 1826, was done away with in 1839; and on May 22nd, 1840, New South Wales was struck out from the list of countries to which prisoners could be transported. Only Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island retained temporarily their old character.

**Evils of Convict Settlement**

The new regulations did not, indeed, meet with universal assent; on the contrary, in consequence of the renewed outbreak of wild speculation in land, and the loss suffered by the already permanently settled districts, violent demonstrations were made in these latter. The Government, however, had neither inclination nor time to destroy the work so laboriously brought to a close and to begin again; so the cries for alteration died away unheard.

**Changes in the Penal System**

But the Mother Country soon found a difficulty in obtaining room for her criminals when transportation to New South Wales was abolished. Van Diemen's Land was quickly overcrowded, and the plan of founding a new convict settlement in North Australia was shown to be impracticable. At the same time the thought of once more stocking with convicts the districts of East Australia, which had been so capable of receiving them for more than half a century, forced itself forward; and all the more so as the colony of Port Phillip, now Victoria, which had arisen meanwhile in the south, cried out loudly for cheap labour, and in New South Wales there were still landowners who earnestly desired to see the restoration of the old condition of things, with its abundance of workers. Both encouraged the Home Government (1848)

to resume the old policy. The Act of 1840 was repealed, and the institution of new penal colonies was contemplated.

Foremost in the movement against transportation was a young ivory-turner, who afterwards, as Sir Harry Parkes, was the founder of Parliamentary institutions in Australia, and subsequently of the Commonwealth. Public meetings of protest were held in Sydney: but Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State, was regardless of expressions of Colonial feeling. Two shiploads of convicts were sent over in 1849. The one ship was allowed to land her freight at Sydney, when the convicts were at once secretly hired by private persons and sent up country; the other, which tried to land at Melbourne, had to return with all on board. The vigorous opposition of the people did not prove ineffective in the sequel. In 1851, New South Wales finally ceased to be considered as a sphere of transportation. The prospects for Victoria were hardly less favourable; and in 1853 Van Diemen's Land gained exemption for the future from any further influx. After 1853 only Western Australia was still employed as a transportation district; and since South Australia from the first had been constituted on a different principle, the institution did not last much longer. It was abolished there also in 1868.



SIR CHARLES A. FITZROY
Governor of New South Wales, 1846-1851, under whom the struggle for free institutions continued.

Closely connected with the popular movement for the abolition of transportation was the agitation for self-government. The Constitution of 1842, which had given the Council a modified control over public expenditure, had also whetted the popular appetite by accustoming the people to elections. A persistent pressure was brought to bear in England for an extension of Parliamentary Government, which was only too acceptable to the pedants of the Colonial Office, who at that time were obsessed with the amazing notion that separatism was a source of strength and the maintenance of an empire a danger to Great Britain.

**British Opinion of Colonies**

The prevalent sentiment of the "Intellectuals" of that day was thus expressed by Richard Cobden: "The Colonial system, with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of except by the indirect process of Free Trade, which will gradually and imperceptibly loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest." Earl Grey, in 1847, made an attempt to grant a constitution which would make a Customs Union and a Federal Government inevitable. This was denounced by Wentworth as an interference with political liberty. The English Government had abolished the preferences to Colonial products in British markets. Australia had therefore nothing to gain by submitting to any limitation to her powers of self-government. The terms of the Constitution will be more fittingly dealt with in discussing the development of the several colonies.

**Constitution with Certain Obligations**

The internal development of New South Wales, which was shown conspicuously during the 'forties and 'fifties by the treatment of the land question and the transportation question, was accompanied by a corresponding widening of the sphere of colonisation. But while the land question hinged chiefly on the distribution of the districts which lay roughly within the boundaries of modern New South Wales, this territorial expansion went far beyond such limits. In the first enthusiasm of early colonisation, attempts were made to cover the whole continent at once; but when the deficiency of their powers was recognised, the settlers were content to occupy some few districts, which were very unequally distributed along the coast of the continent; for while they were numerous in the south-east and east, the distant west lay isolated, and the north was entirely uncolonised.

This peculiar distribution is very closely connected with the history of the rise of the different daughter colonies of New South Wales; this again was strongly influenced by the course of the geographical exploration of Australia. As a general rule, exploration came first, and colonisation followed. This order of things was reversed only in the founding of Western Australia; there colonisation began in

one part which had long been known; but the exploration of the hinterland was the concern of later decades.

The successful expedition of Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson, in the year 1812, across the Blue Mountains into the interior, had fired the zeal for exploration. The years 1817 and 1818 saw the discovery by J. Oxley of the extensive grazing grounds known as the Liverpool Plains. In 1824, two young colonists, Hamilton Hume and William Hovell, were the first to reach the vicinity of Geelong, near modern Melbourne, from Sydney, having traversed the whole south-east of the continent, past the sources of the Murrumbidgee and the Murray. At the same time Allan Cunningham, the botanist, continued the explorations of Oxley in the north as far as the Darling Downs (1827). Finally, in the years 1828 and 1829, came the important journeys of Charles Sturt in the district watered by the Darling and Murray Rivers. These journeys not only threw new light on the river system of the country, but also guided the colonial expansion of Australia into other paths. In this respect particularly all these travels were rich in results.

**Exploration of the Interior**

The first successful founding of Port Phillip was the direct consequence of the journey of Hume and Hovell. Various sheep farmers of the interior followed Allan Cunningham's tracks, and thus laid the real foundation of the later Queensland. The favourable report by Sturt on the district between the Lower Murray and the Gulf of St. Vincent was entirely responsible for the colonisation of South Australia. The travels of later years did not, with one exception, produce any political results when once the foundation of the new states had been laid. Geographically they are not, for the most part, inferior to the early essays in exploration, and certainly brought more definite information as to the industrial value or worthlessness of the soil than the first rapid journeys.

**Laying the Keels of Other States**

This applies particularly to the expeditions which took as their object the accurate investigation of the river system of the Darling-Murray, the travels, that is to say, of Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, who succeeded in accomplishing his survey after six years of strenuous effort. It also applies to the discovery of the interior of Victoria—"Australia Felix"—by the same traveller, and not less to the enterprises of the brave Edward John Eyre—born 1815, died January, 1902—on the soil of inland South Australia, in the low-lying lake region, and on the terribly barren south coast as far as King George's Sound (1839–1841).

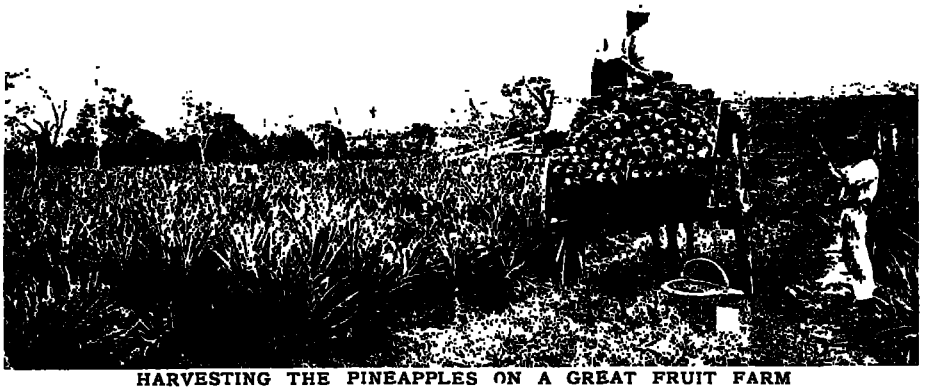
Finally, similar results were achieved by numerous exploring parties in the heart of Western Australia. The majority of these travellers could not bring back very pleasant reports. Apart from Victoria, all accounts of the industrial value of the country were discouraging or absolutely deterrent. The north-east alone formed a striking exception; there, later travels accomplished results which, to some degree, are comparable to those of the first explorers. It was the journeys of Ludwig Leichhardt which can claim this marvellous effect, and Queensland and North Australia are the regions which owe their real discovery and opening up to a German. It is not too much to say that Leichhardt's splendid expedition from Darling Downs to Port Essington (1844-1846) increased the possible area of colonisation by about a million square miles, or one-third of the whole continent. The colonists required only to follow the steps of the explorer in order to come into possession of an almost incalculable expanse of profitable land.

**Australia's Debt to a German**

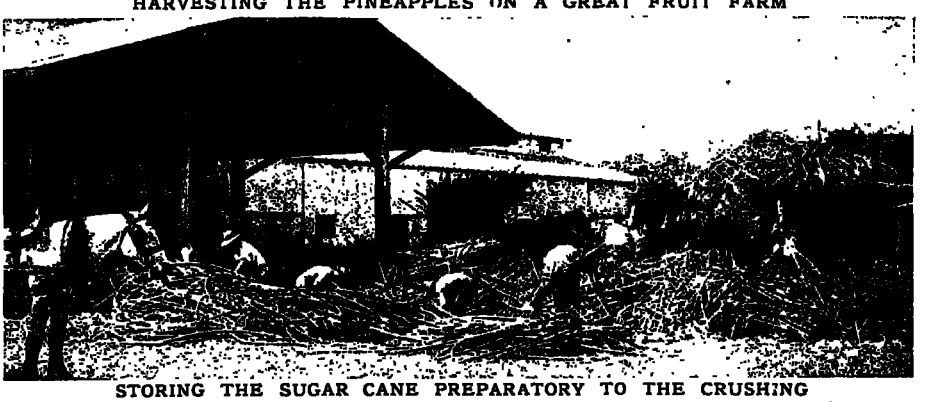
A peculiar feature of all Australian exploration before the middle of the nineteenth century was its restriction to the edge of the continent; the centre was not reached. The explanation is found in the novelty of the sphere of work. Until the broad strip of territory along the edge was thoroughly explored in most of its parts, there was no motive to attack the real heart of the country. Even when, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the centre was chosen as a goal, the want of any tangible attraction greatly checked the course of exploration.



TEAM OF OXEN TRANSPORTING GIANT TIMBER



HARVESTING THE PINEAPPLES ON A GREAT FRUIT FARM



STORING THE SUGAR CANE PREPARATORY TO THE CRUSHING



ONE OF AUSTRALIA'S LEADING INDUSTRIES: SHEEP-SHEARING

SCENES FROM THE COUNTRY LIFE OF AUSTRALIA

Photos by Underwood & Underwood, London



# THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COLONIES

## TASMANIA: THE GARDEN COLONY

OF the six colonies which compose the Commonwealth of Australia, only three—Tasmania, Victoria, and Queensland—are offshoots from New South Wales; South Australia and Western Australia—like New Zealand also—were, on the contrary, founded by direct colonisation from England. Considering the enormous difficulties with which New South Wales had continually to contend, this circumstance is not surprising. In the case of Western Australia, the mere distance from the east coast of the continent was sufficient to restrain enterprise from the eastern side. But South Australia was, in its origin, so hazardous an experiment that the Government in Sydney did well to play the part of an unconcerned spectator. In other respects even there, east of the Great Australian Bight, the question of distance was not devoid of importance. It is, at least, no accident that the three daughter colonies lie in one zone with their mother colony; that Van Diemen's Land, an island comparatively far away from Sydney, was colonised as the first offshoot, to the complete neglect of the neighbouring parts of the mainland; and that even the first steps toward founding Victoria were taken not from Sydney, but from Van Diemen's Land. Seldom has the natural advantage which attaches to the position of an island facing a wide stretch of opposite coast been so clearly shown as here.

**Founding the Various Colonies**

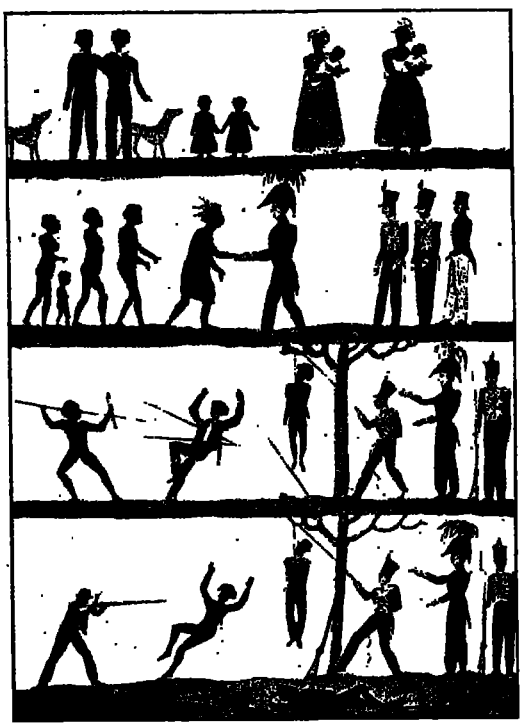
The first step of the Australian mother colony towards the establishment of independent offshoots was the founding of the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land in the year 1803. The cause of this settlement was primarily the fear of French schemes of annexation, which more than once had given rise to the erection of military posts on the coast of Australia. In the next place, the English Government did not think it advisable to concentrate too large a number of criminals in any one place. A small convict settlement on Norfolk Island had already been founded under the influence of this idea, but had not proved successful. Van Diemen's Land seemed, both in point of size and of remoteness from the continent, a more desirable place than Norfolk Island for the confinement of dangerous criminals. To carry out these intentions, Governor King sent Lieutenant Bowen with a detachment of soldiers and some convicts to Van Diemen's Land in June, 1803. A settlement called Restdown, a name later corrupted into Risdon, was founded on the left shore of the estuary of the Derwent.

About this same time the plan had been formed in England of colonising the shores of the recently discovered Port Phillip on the south-east corner of the mainland. The execution of the plan was entrusted to Colonel Collins, a man who had gone to Port Jackson as a judge in the first convict ship, had been Advocate-General of New South Wales for a long time, and happened then to be in London. The expedition, consisting of two ships with four hundred convicts and the necessary warders, landed on the south side of Port Phillip, near the site of the modern Sorrento. Small excursions into the country soon showed it to be bare and inhospitable, and as Collins also, after prolonged search, found no water, he abandoned the district on January 27th, 1804, in order to take his people over to Van Diemen's Land, a course which Governor King sanctioned at his request. He sailed directly for the estuary of the Derwent, broke up the colony of Bowen there, and founded a new joint settlement on the right bank of the river at the foot of Mount Wellington. He called the place, in honour of Lord Hobart, the Colonial

**First Attempt to Colonise Victoria**

Minister of the day, Hobart Town, a name abbreviated in 1881 to Hobart. The north of the island was also occupied. Simultaneously with Collins's expedition, and again owing to the fear of a French occupation, Colonel Paterson conducted another troop of convicts from Sydney to Van Diemen's Land, where, on the west shore of Port Dalrymple, Yorktown was immediately founded. Its first inhabitants could not make themselves at home there, and in 1808 they were taken further into the interior and settled in a locality called Launceston, after King's native town in Cornwall.

The occupation of this new field for colonisation from opposite sides had greatly hastened the exploration of the island, and, with it, the knowledge of its economic advantages; but the first steps had been taken without the orders of the Home Government and by no means to its satisfaction. The permanent shortage in provisions, which had shown itself in the early days of colonisation in New South Wales and Norfolk Island, was soon felt in the newly-planted colony. The cause was primarily the strict embargo on the landing of any except convict ships; and next the complete economic dependence on New South Wales. Under ordinary conditions this would not have led to inconvenience; but when, as happened in the year 1806, owing to the great floods of the River Hawkesbury, supplies ran short in the mother colony, the position of all the settlers could not but be the more precarious, since about that time (1807) the number of the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land was increased by the entire population of Norfolk Island, where settlement had always proved somewhat of a failure. The conditions of life in Van Diemen's Land under these circumstances did not for the moment appear hopeful. For a long time the Government was forced to leave it to every convict to find his own food, clothing, and shelter. Since the flesh of the kangaroo was known to be a suitable article of food, the convicts at once scattered over the whole interior. This was advantageous for the exploration of the country, but not calculated to produce law and order among the colonists, and still less to maintain good relations with the aborigines.



GOVERNOR DAVEY'S PROCLAMATION
This pictorial proclamation was intended to teach the natives that British justice is even-handed, and that punishment would follow bad treatment of the natives on the part of white men as well as criminal acts on the part of the natives themselves.

The mutual relations of the whites gave rise to many difficulties. To many a convict who had been given leave for a kangaroo hunt, but especially to the numerous prisoners who had escaped from the gaols, it did not occur to return from their rovings in the interior to the yoke of servitude. They soon acquired a taste for the free life of the bush, formed themselves into bands, which lived by plundering the white settlers, and with this comfortable vocation, which was disastrous to the prosperity of the colony, laid the foundation for that wild bushranging which up to 1830 was such a curse to Van Diemen's Land, and spread later to the mainland. The energetic Governor Arthur at last succeeded, by a rapid campaign, in checking the evil—for a time at least (1825-1826). Twenty years later, under Governor Wilmot, it revived with much greater force.

Considering all the misery which the bushrangers brought upon the island, it

was fortunate that the outrages by which they thoroughly intimidated the settlers were confined mostly to the interior; the south and north coasts remained, on the whole, free from such calamities, and were therefore able to develop steadily though slowly. Collins himself, who died at Hobart Town in 1810, did not live to see much of this progress. He had laid the foundations for it when he began, in 1807, to construct the marvellous road from Launceston to Hobart Town, but, under the prevailing conditions, it had not lain in his power to develop it farther. Lieutenant-Colonel Davey, his successor, arrived at Hobart Town only at the beginning of 1813. In the interval, Governor Macquarie had paid his first visit (November, 1811), which was an important event for Van Diemen's Land, since Macquarie with characteristic energy flooded the island with an infinity of new schemes, urged the construction of roads, public buildings, even whole towns, and, what was most essential, succeeded in awakening the public spirit of the better classes.

**Enterprise in the New Colony**



LIEUT.-GOVERNOR COLLINS
Who attempted to settle Port Phillip and finally founded Hobart Town.

Now, for the first time, a systematic organisation was noticeable, which soon showed itself in the proclamation of Hobart Town as the capital of the country in the year 1812. Davey's term of office, which lasted until 1817, hardly carried out the extensive plans of Macquarie. Mr. Jenks says of him: "Davey seems to have treated his office more or less as a joke. He was totally without ceremony and would drink and jest with anyone." Bush-ranging alone was an eyesore to him, and the wish to suppress it finally led him to exercise his office. His first act was to place the whole island under martial law; but besides this he forbade any inhabitant to leave his house at night without permission. If, under this régime, there was any progress at all, it was entirely due to private persons. In 1815 the colony was already in a position to export wheat, and in the following year salted meat, to Sydney. In 1816, the first newspaper was started in Hobart Town. When Davey left, the white population counted quite 3,000 souls, and about 3,000 acres were under cultivation.

But there was as yet no cattle-breeding or sheep farming. These industries were introduced in the succeeding years. Davey's place was filled by William Sorell, an able man, whose chief concern was not to place free and respectable immigrants among a population composed of convicts; he next turned his attention to the economic development of the island as well as to the suppression of bushranging. He, like Davey, was unable to achieve great results in that field; on the other hand, he had attracted settlers in large masses, thanks to the favourable terms which he offered. Not only did the Government grant free allotments of land, but it also supplied food for six months, lent the entire stock of cattle required at the outset as well as the first seed corn, and, besides this, guaranteed a minimum price for the entire produce in grain and meat. When, in 1821, Governor Macquarie set foot for the second and last time on the soil of Van Diemen's Land after an interval of ten years, the white population amounted to 7,400 souls, who had 14,000 acres under cultivation and 180,000 sheep with 35,000 cattle on their pasturages.

The introduction of systematic sheep farming coincided indeed with Sorell's governorship, but the credit belongs to Colonel Paterson, who induced the experienced sheep breeder, MacArthur, to send him over a shipload of his famous flock. An attempt, made in 1819, to put wool on the English market failed lamentably; in 1822, however, 794 bales were exported and received gladly by the market. At the present time the wool trade has long been one of the most important industries. It is easy to understand that under these circumstances the colonists regretted the departure of the Governor, who was also personally popular. When he was recalled in 1823, the Home Government was actually petitioned to appoint him for a second term.

**First Wool Exports from Tasmania**

Sorell's successor, Arthur (1823–1836), did not do so well, in spite of a long

administration and great services. His personal character was partly to blame for this; partly, also, his stiff official bearing toward the free settlers. Arthur's entrance on office was connected with important changes in the constitutional position of Van Diemen's Land. The rapid growth of the white population during the last few years had made the want of an independent government widely felt. Not only were all questions touching the common interest dependent upon Sydney, but even the matters of daily occurrence were decided there. Even though Macquarie tried to check this evil by conferring larger powers



GENERAL VIEW OF HOBART TOWN IN 1860



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART

on the Lieutenant-Governor, the position was bound to become intolerable. This view was held in London; the same Act of Parliament, in 1823, which limited the powers of the Governor of New South Wales entirely severed Van Diemen's Land from the parent colony and put it on the same footing as New South Wales.

Colonel Arthur was appointed the first Governor. His twelve years' tenure of office was the most eventful in the whole history of Van Diemen's Land. The settlement of the convict question, which met him at the outset, demanded all his energies. Soon after his arrival a band of more than one hundred criminals had escaped from Port Macquarie and pillaged the island. The strengthened military force proved sufficient to check their excesses, and 103 of the culprits were executed by the orders of the Governor. Clemency towards criminals was not a characteristic of Arthur, although he thought his island was intended only for them, an opinion which Macquarie in his day had held about Australia. Arthur regarded the free settlers as a necessary evil. The outcome of this biassed attitude was an unremitting, if not exactly paternal, solicitude for the prisoners. When, in 1832, Macquarie Harbour, on the west coast, had to be given up on account of the excessive density of the population, he established a new settlement at Port Arthur on the south-east, where the prison system was raised to a veritable science.



THE BUSY PORT OF HOBART TO-DAY

The second task of Arthur was the native question. Notwithstanding all the unrest which the struggles with the convicts as well as with the aborigines, produced in the island, they were not serious enough to check the growth of the colony in any sensible degree; there was a surprising increase during Arthur's term of office both in the population and the area of cultivated land. At his arrival the population had amounted to something over 10,000 souls; when he left, in 1836, this total was quadrupled, and the area of cultivation had similarly increased. The number of sheep then reached nearly a million; and the exports, which in 1823 had amounted to approximately £25,000 sterling, had risen to over £500,000.

**Rapid Growth of Tasmania**

In order to open up the industries of the island on a large scale, the Van Diemen's Land Company had been formed in England, which obtained a concession first of 250,000 acres, and then of 100,000 acres more. It exercised an influence on the development of the colony up to quite recent times. For educational purposes there were twenty-nine schools, while religious needs were provided for by eighteen churches. Peace was at last concluded between the Government and the newspaper Press, with which Arthur for years had waged as bitter a war as Sir Ralph Darling in Australia; after 1828 complete freedom of the Press prevailed. On the whole, Arthur and the colony could be satisfied with the results.

The subsequent fortunes of Van Diemen's Land up to the beginning of the second period in Australian development, which began in the same way and about the same time for all the Colonies, can be given in a few lines. Arthur's successor was Sir John Franklin (1836–1843), who had already gained renown by his exploration of the North Polar regions. Fitted by his whole disposition for scientific pursuits, he was the less competent to face the numerous difficulties of his responsible position, since the decline of Australian industries began in his time. Yet he too did good service to the island. The organisation of the educational system was entirely his work. He was further the founder of the Tasmanian Society, now known as the Royal Society of Tasmania; he enabled William Jackson Hooker to complete his work on the flora of Tasmania, and finally initiated the study of the geology and natural history of the island by encouraging numerous travellers. His administration was the scientific era in Van Diemen's Land.

**A Scientist as Colonial Governor**

The brief administration of his successor, Sir Eardley Wilmot (1843–1846) was occupied with the struggle between the colonists and the English Government about the abolition of transportation. Van Diemen's Land had always enjoyed the dubious advantage of being provided with large masses of criminals in proportion to its area. The detrimental effects of penal colonisation in its moral and economic bearings had therefore been most noticeable there, and in 1835 there began a systematic agitation of which the object was to prevent convicts from being landed on the island for the future.

This agitation did not completely stop even in the succeeding years, and when, at the beginning of the 'forties, the prisoners of Moreton Bay were taken across to the island, it immediately flared up again brightly. Fuel was added to the flames when, under Wilmot's government, 2,000 prisoners were brought over from Norfolk Island, which after 1825 had once more become a penal settlement, and when it was seen that new batches were constantly arriving from England. Up to 1844 the number of criminals sent to Van Diemen's Land amounted to 40,000. The most worthless of these were the Norfolk Islanders, many of whom escaped to the bush, where they combined in marauding gangs of from 100 to 500 men, and waged guerilla warfare on everyone. They burnt the houses, killed the inhabitants, drove away the cattle, and revived the worst features of the old bushranging. This was the climax. The agitation against the system of penal colonisation became general. A great league against it was founded, and in the government of Sir William Denison, who had succeeded Wilmot in 1846, after several years of effort, transportation to Van Diemen's Land was finally abolished in 1853. This reform was accompanied by a change in the name of the colony, which has since then been known as Tasmania.

**Suppression of Penal Colonisation**

# VICTORIA AND QUEENSLAND

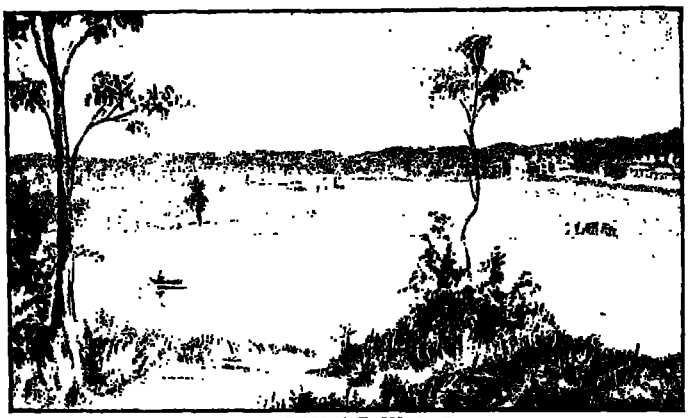
## DAUGHTER STATES OF NEW SOUTH WALES

"THE colony of Victoria might, with some justice, be spoken of as a granddaughter rather than a daughter of New South Wales," says Mr. Jenks. It was finally founded by settlers from Van Diemen's Land; it was purely Australian only in the period before it was definitely colonised. This begins with the attempt of Colonel Collins, which we have already noticed, to establish a penal settlement on the shores of Port Phillip in 1803. The plan failed, with the result that no one for more than twenty years troubled about a country which was considered "unproductive and unpromising." In 1825 the attempt was renewed, in consequence of the favourable reports of Hume and Hovell, and also with the object of forestalling the French. The penal station of Dumaresq was founded on Westernport, which was mistaken for Port Phillip; no water, however, could be found, and the settlement was discontinued in 1828.

This concludes the preliminary stage in the history of the colony. The real founding of Port Phillip, as modern Victoria was called until 1851, was due to private enterprise. The few fishermen and sailors who in the first half of the nineteenth century led a half-savage existence on the eastern parts of the south coast of Australia, were joined in 1834 by a family named Henty, which settled in Portland Bay. The members of it had already taken part in the unlucky enterprise in Western Australia, had afterwards hoped to find free land in Van Diemen's Land, and now, since they were at the end of their resources, ventured on a bold plunge into the unknown. The special permission to settle for which they applied was at first refused by the authorities, but subsequently granted, in consideration of the dreaded encroachment of the French. Henty's success prompted further enterprise, which was once more directed toward Port Phillip. The leader of this attempt was John Batman, a wealthy sheep farmer of Van Diemen's Land. He started in May, 1835, with several companions for the south coast of Australia, inspected the country, and "bought," on June 6th, 1835, for a couple of dozen axes, knives, and scissors, some blankets, 30 mirrors, and 200 handkerchiefs, with the stipulation of a yearly payment of about £200 sterling in goods, two vast territories comprising together 600,000 acres, an area more than the size of Cambridgeshire. The consequence was the founding of an association of various settlers of Van Diemen's Land, the Port Phillip Association, and the planting of the first settlement in Geelong. The contract of sale was sent to England; the Government naturally termed it worthless. If the country was English, the natives had no right to alienate the land without the Governor's sanction; if it was not English, the association had no claim on the protection of England. The association, realising in the end that it had no case, was content with 20,000 acres, worth then some £7,500. In 1836 it was dissolved. In England there was at first little inclination to allow a new colony to be founded. Circumstances were, however, stronger than the will of the Government. Even on August 26th, 1835, Governor Bourke of New South Wales had prohibited the occupation of land round Port Phillip without his permission; but only a year later, in September, 1836, he and the English Government saw



THOMAS HENTY
The Founder of Victoria



MELBOURNE IN 1837

themselves compelled by an unexpectedly large influx of immigrants to open the country to colonisation.

After this concession, development was rapid. The administration had in 1835 started with a single Government official, a Captain Lonsdale. In the following year it was enlarged by a regular police force, with whom three land surveyors were associated. In 1837 Sir Robert Bourke himself laid the foundation of Melbourne and Williamstown, and in 1842 the former received a municipal government. In June, 1836, there were calculated to be 177 colonists with 26,000 sheep; two years later both figures were tripled or quadrupled. At the same time the exports of the young colony amounted to £12,000 sterling, while the imports reached £115,000. As in New South Wales, the Crown lands were sold by public auction, except for the period 1840–1842, when the plan of allotment at a fixed price was tried.

Owing to the strong tide of immigration, by the end of 1841 no fewer than 205,748 acres had been transferred to fixed proprietors, and in return £394,300 had been paid to the land fund, from which source the expenses of government were defrayed. This large sum illustrates the superabundance of money in the country at the time. Owing to the scarcity of workmen, wages of ten shillings a day and upward were not considered high. An ox cost from £12 to £15, a horse £100 or more, a sheep up to £3.

The inevitable reaction followed. The over-production of corn and cattle, which very soon appeared, led in every department to a collapse of prices, ending in a regular bankruptcy. Wages rapidly sank; the price of an ox was hardly as many shillings as it had fetched pounds in the past, and hundreds of businesses suspended payment. The crisis was violent but short; it was ended by the middle of the "forties." Since that time, apart from the gold fever, which set in a little later, and the declaration of the independence of the colony, no event of great importance has disturbed the development of Port Phillip. It made continuous but rapid progress. In 1840 Melbourne was declared a free port; in 1843 the trade of the colony amounted to £341,000; in 1848 it had reached £1,049,000. The proceeds of the sales of land increased in proportion. Of the £250,000 which composed the whole revenue of the colony in the year 1850, more than half came from that source alone. The outgoings were 30 per cent. less than the incomings.

It is pleasant to record that good relations existed from the first between the colonists and natives. This is partly



THE GOLDFIELDS OF BALLARAT IN 1860



General View of Bendigo



Sandhurst, now included in Bendigo



Market Square, Castlemaine



The Centre of Ballarat



The Approach to Melbourne



The Government Offices, Melbourne

THE BEGINNINGS OF VICTORIA'S THRIVING TOWNS HALF A CENTURY AGO

traceable to the sensible behaviour of the early settlers; it is partly due to the services of William Buckley, whose romantic adventures are well known. He had been a convict, and had escaped from Collins's expedition in 1804. He then lived thirty-two years among the natives, and now was the mediator between the two races. We hear of hardly any outrages, fights with the blacks, or similar occurrences, in the history of Port Phillip. The settlers could extend their sheep runs farther and farther into the interior without molestation. In 1840 Port Phillip owned more than a million sheep; the export of wool amounted to nearly 13,000,000 lb.

This splendid growth brought up as early as 1842 the question of the political severance of the colony from New South Wales. Nevertheless, a whole series of representations to the English Government on the subject produced no effect. The colonists then, in July, 1848, resolved on a step as bold as it was original. Six representatives should have been elected to the Legislative Council which sat at Sydney. The candidates were requested to withdraw their applications, and the English Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, was chosen as their solitary representative. The scheme was, of course, apparent. At the subsequent election in October the Government insisted on the nomination of proper deputies. But the object of the colonists was so far attained that the separation of the two colonies was now seriously considered in England. The Board of Trade took up the question, the Ministry gave way, and in the Constitution Act of 1850 the settlement, numbering 77,000 souls, was raised to an independent colony under the name of Victoria. The news of this decision reached Melbourne in November, 1850; but it was not until July 1st, 1851, that the new order of things came into force.

### QUEENSLAND

The expedition which had been made by Oxley along the east coast north of Sydney had prompted several attempts at colonisation. Settlements had been founded at Port Essington, on Melville Island, and at other points, but no results had been obtained. When, a little later, the maintenance of the convicts in Van Diemen's Land began to cause difficulties, the expedient of founding a penal station on Moreton Bay was adopted. This lasted until 1840, and has, under the name of Brisbane, remained to the present day the seat of government of the later Queensland. But it must not be regarded as the true nucleus of the colony. In the first place, the presence of the penal station deterred all free settlers from going there; and next, the land in its



EARLY PIONEERS ON THE BUSH TRACK IN QUEENSLAND



AN EPISODE OF EARLY COLONIAL LIFE IN QUEENSLAND

Native police under English officer preparing for an engagement with the blacks.

neighbourhood was not offered for sale. Queensland thus, at least for its first beginnings, showed a unique development from the standpoint of political geography. It developed from the interior toward the coast.

Queensland's real origin is traceable to the squatters who followed the track of Allan Cunningham from New South Wales to the north. They continually drove their flocks on further from the Liverpool Plains to the New England district and the Darling Downs. These districts were even then the best pasture grounds in the world, but suffered much from want of access to the sea, since owing to the intervening chain of mountains the long détour by New South Wales had to be taken before the value of the products could be realised. Even the discovery of a difficult mountain path to Moreton Bay was of no use, since the authorities absolutely prohibited the squatters from any communications with the place. A change was first made in 1859 after the abolition of the penal station. Practicable roads were now constructed over the mountains, public sale of land was introduced in 1842, and the fresh stream of immigration was diverted into the newly opened districts. Yet there was not at once a marked development; good land was abundant, but the labour was not forthcoming. In nine years less than 2,500 acres had been disposed of.

Efforts were soon made to obtain political separation from New South Wales. The request was granted in 1859; the north-east corner of Australia was proclaimed an independent colony under the name of Queensland.

The aspect of Queensland at the moment when it received independence was essentially different from that of the other Australian colonies at the same stage in their career. The entire white population amounted in 1859 to only 30,000 souls, who were equally distributed between the town and the country. There were some twenty towns, of which Brisbane then contained 4,000 inhabitants, while others of them boasted only of some hundreds. The so-called town of Allora had only fifty-five inhabitants. These settlements were mere villages, not only from the small number of their inhabitants, but in their essential nature; they did not show a trace of organised municipal government. The greater credit is thus due to the certainty and rapidity with which all the authorities adapted themselves to the new conditions suddenly burst upon them. The example of Queensland proves the high capacity of the Anglo-Saxon to adapt himself to any form of polity, for the Queenslanders entered upon self-government without any such preliminary training as all the other Australian colonies had enjoyed in their gradual process of development.



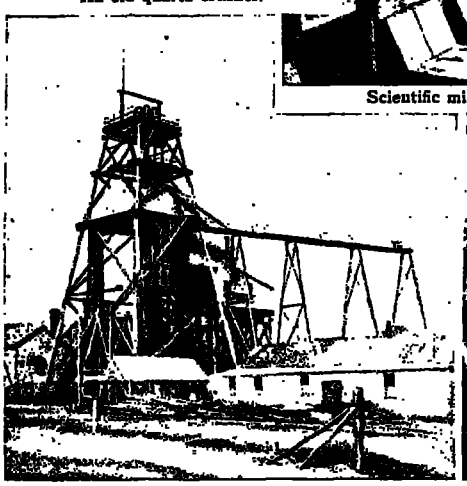
Travelling to the diggings in the days of the gold "rush."



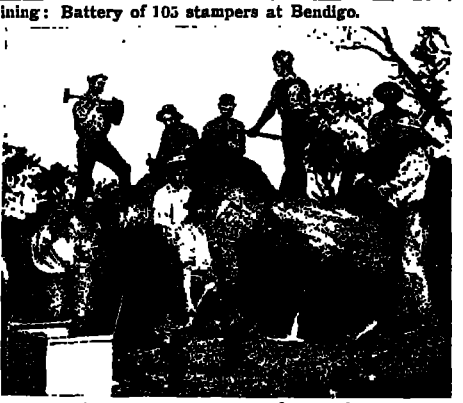
An old quartz crusher.



Scientific mining: Battery of 105 stampers at Bendigo.



A Ballarat gold-mine to-day.



Diggers engaged in surface mining.



In the old days: Military escort accompanying the transport of gold from the mines.

SCENES IN THE LAND OF GOLD: OLD METHODS AND NEW

Photos Underwood & Underwood, London

# WESTERN AUSTRALIA: THE YOUNGEST STATE

WESTERN Australia was founded directly from England. It is true that a number of convicts had been sent in 1826 from Sydney to the west coast of the continent in order to counteract any French schemes; but the establishment of the stations of Albany and Rockingham can hardly be termed a colonisation in the proper sense of the word. The first real settlement was in 1829. In the previous year a Captain Stirling had published a glowing account of the district at the mouth of the Swan River, which induced the Government to order Captain Fremantle to hoist the English flag there. But further measures of the Government failed from want of means.

The moving spirit of the private enterprise which first started the colonisation was Thomas Peel. In combination with others he offered to send in the course of four years 10,000 free emigrants to the Swan River on condition that, in return for the cost, which he estimated at £300,000, an area of 4,000,000 acres should be assigned to him. When the Government did not accept this offer, Peel considerably reduced the scale of his scheme, and this time was successful. Under the guidance of Captain Stirling, destined to be the Governor of the new colony, to whom 100,000 acres of land had been promised, the first band of emigrants sailed from England in the spring of 1829, arrived in June on the Swan River, and founded at its mouth the town of Fremantle, and higher up stream the town of Perth. In the course of the next year and a half thirty-nine emigrant ships, with 1,125 colonists, attracted by eulogistic descriptions, followed the first party to Western Australia. Fortune did not smile on the attempt; there was land enough and to spare, but there was a lack of working men, of roads, and of markets.

**Private Scheme of Settlement**

Peel's plan had been to cultivate tobacco and cotton, sugar and flax, to breed horses for India, and by fattening oxen and swine, to provide the English fleet with salted meat. All this came to nothing; the colonists themselves had hardly enough to eat, and the larger their landed property the greater their helplessness and distress. Many settlers, and among them the Henty family, left the ungrateful soil of the colony; others lost all they possessed; Peel himself, who had settled with 200 colonists, is said to have lost £50,000. The founders had, from the very beginning, never given a thought to the support of the new-comers, nor had anyone troubled about dividing the land even roughly, to say nothing of a proper survey. It was nothing unusual for the settlers to lie for months after their arrival shelterless on the shore, exposed without protection to the scorching Australian sun, to sandstorms, and to violent downpours of rain. Thus much of the labour that had been expended on the soil was wasted, while the health of the people suffered. If they were finally in a position to occupy the tract assigned to them, difficulties of another sort began.

**Hardships of Early Settlers**

From the very first hour the relations between the settlers and the aborigines were most hostile; and the aid of a troop of mounted police was required for the protection of the former. Under these circumstances there could be no idea of progress in the sense in which it can be recorded of the majority of other Australian colonies in their early days. Everything went on very slowly, especially as immigration, after the first wave, absolutely came to a standstill. The few settlers left in the land certainly did their utmost; they most energetically set about breeding sheep and horses, laid the foundation of some other towns, and settled King George's Sound. Development in the first six years did not go beyond this; of 1,600,000 acres distributed to the colonists as such, in 1834, only 564 acres were under cultivation.

**Slow Progress of the New Colony**

Some stimulus was given to development by the Western Australian Association,

founded by Major Irwin in 1835, which was intended to encourage emigration to Western Australia and safeguard its interests in other countries. Among its members, besides English gentlemen, were included some residents of Calcutta, who contemplated the establishment of a health resort as well as a trading settlement. The company benefited the colony in many ways; but in spite of all agitation it could not alter the slow course of the economic growth. In 1840 the population had amounted to only 2,300 souls; two years before, the colonists had received the privilege of sending four members to the Legislative Council.

**Development by Capital Enterprise**

The year 1841 saw the formation of some large undertakings to exploit Western Australia. One was a limited company, founded by the Western Australian Association with the object of buying up cheaply the land once assigned to Captain Stirling, and then disposing of it in small lots. One pound sterling was to be paid down for each acre. This plan never came into execution. The other undertakings of the same Western Australian Association promised greater success. At the suggestion of the traveller, George Grey, of whom we shall hear more, a settlement, which received the name of Australind, was founded in the Leschenault district on the north coast of Geographe Bay, some hundred miles south of Perth. It was flourishing splendidly when the company broke up; the small town still exists.

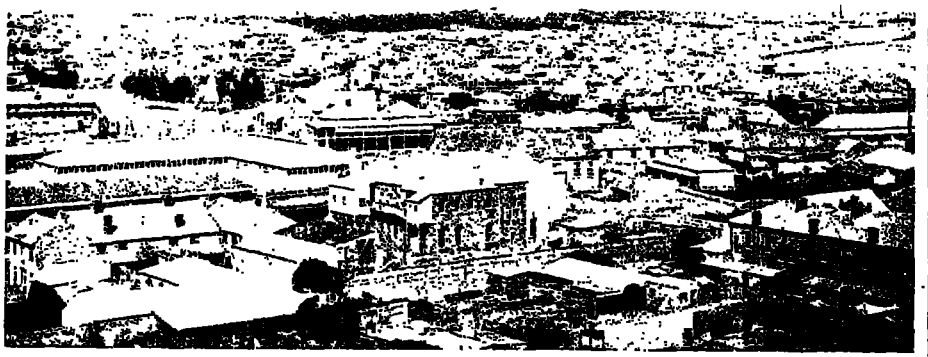
The want of labourers, which became more urgent from year to year, drove the colony to follow the example of Queensland. In 1845 the Council seriously contemplated inviting German settlers, under the impression that the harsh treatment of German immigrants in the United States would make it easy to divert the stream. At the same time the advisability of admitting pauper immigrants was considered. The most momentous resolution, however, was the introduction of transportation. According to a resolution of the Council of 1846, a certain number of convicts, whose passage was to be provided at the cost of the mother country, were to be admitted annually, in order to be employed on road-making and other public works. The English Government accepted the proposal only too willingly. While it did nothing at all to help the execution of the two other schemes, it lost no time in disembarking shipload after shipload of convicts on the welcome new transportation territory, as Western Australia was officially declared to be on May 1st, 1849. After 1850 "ticket-of-leave" men were sent out, and allowed freedom of movement within the colony, subject to the obligation of periodically reporting themselves to the police.

**Convict Settlers Admitted**

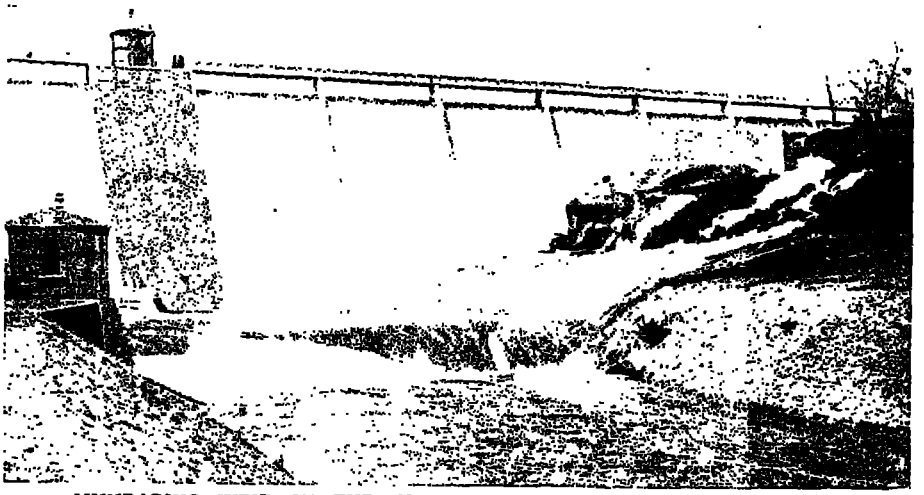
In contrast to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the Colony of Western Australia was greatly assisted by the introduction of penal colonisation. By April, 1852, there were 1,500 transportees in the country, half of whom were ticket-of-leave men. This number implied a large staff of officials, and a stronger military force; it also necessitated the construction of large buildings, for which the sum of £86,000 was granted by England alone. Thus money and life were brought into the colony. The old colonists took heart again, a new stream of free settlers flowed in, more and more land was bought and cultivated, and the land fund grew in an encouraging fashion. Coal-fields were also discovered, guano beds were exploited, and sandalwood exported; the Madras Cavalry began to obtain their remounts from Western Australia, and a pearl fishery was started in Shark Bay. Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that the white population, which had only amounted to 5,000 in 1850, was now trebled. The number of sheep and cattle, as well as the volume of trade, showed a corresponding increase.

**Colony Saved by Convicts**

There was, however, a dark side to this bright picture. In spite of the increase in sales of land, the incomings did not cover the expenditure. In order to make good this deficit, an arrangement had been made by which the ticket-of-leave men should be able to buy their liberty at a price varying from £7 to £25, according to the length of their sentence. But in spite of the extensive use which the transportees, who in Western Australia belonged exclusively to the male sex, made of this privilege, the measure was ineffectual; the colony was more than ever dependent on liberal subsidies from the mother country. This had an important effect on political development, since this financial dependence, in



THE IMPORTANT MANUFACTURING TOWN OF FREMANTLE



MUNDARING WEIR ON THE GREAT WATER SYSTEM OF COOLGARDIE



GENERAL VIEW OF PERTH, THE CAPITAL OF THE COLONY

## SCENES IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA TO-DAY

Photos Greenham & Evans, Perth

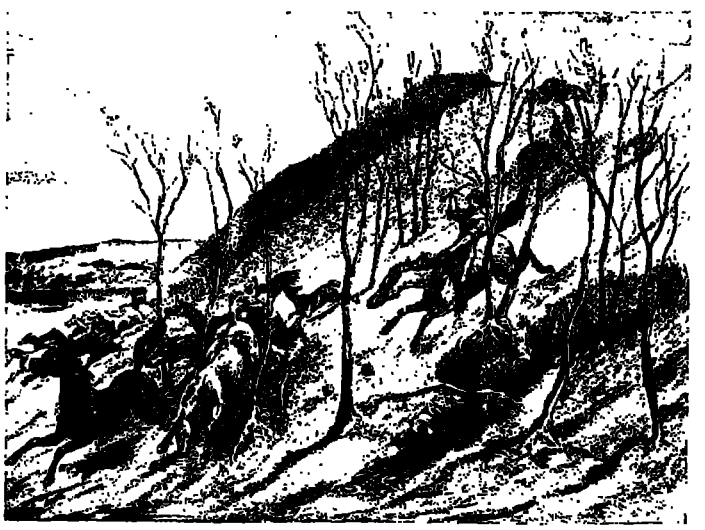


MUSTERING CATTLE ON AN AUSTRALIAN STATION

connection with the transportation which suited England, was the chief reason why Western Australia was absolutely ignored when a responsible government was granted to the other colonies. A third reason was the composition of the inhabitants and their stage of civilisation in 1850. Even in 1859, 41 per cent. of the male population were actual or former convicts, and in most localities these convicts outnumbered the free colonists. The number of illiterate persons, excluding the actual convicts, reached 37½ per cent. It was absolutely impossible to place a community so constituted on an independent footing.

Western Australia was long in making up for its original inferiority to the sister colonies. It lost, however, its character of a penal colony quicker than was acceptable to the free and the emancipated colonists, who were spoilt by the cheap price of labour and the sums of money spent by the mother country on transportation. The continuous influx of escaped criminals soon caused bad blood in the adjoining colonies, as well as the circumstance that many convicts from Western Australia, on serving their sentence, turned their steps toward the east. In 1864, Victoria raised a violent protest against the continuance of penal colonisation in the far west of the continent, and demanded measures of repression. Finally, in 1868, the English Government struck Western Australia out of the list of penal colonies, after it had received in all 9,718 transportees. The complete ruin of the colony, which the colonists who had been enriched by convict labour prophesied, did not occur.

It is only recently that it has been able to meet its outgoings from its own resources, and not until 1890 did it receive self-government and attain the same footing as the other colonies. But the discovery and working of large goldfields in the interior guarantee to it, however, perhaps the most successful course of any of the Australian colonies.



"RUNNING IN" HORSES FROM THE BUSH





# SOUTH AUSTRALIA IN DEVELOPMENT

THE founding of South Australia, which, like Western Australia, was colonised from England, was really due to the favourable accounts brought back by the explorer Sturt as to the country seen by him at the mouth of the Murray, and to the report of Captain Collet Barker, who was entrusted with the exploration of the Gulf of St. Vincent. In consequence of this, the South Australian Land Company, which included, besides a number of members of Parliament, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was formed in London in 1831. Wakefield had learned from personal experience the defects of English prison life; he saw the only remedy in a systematically conducted removal of the superfluous English population, which, in his opinion, plunged the masses into distress and misery and assisted crime, to new scenes, such, for example, as South Australia, just then coming into notice. According to his plan, large uncultivated tracts of land should be assigned to a colonisation company provided with sufficient means, on the understanding that it founded settled communities. The company was to indemnify itself for all initial expenditure by the sale of land at fixed prices; the profits above that were to be applied to the cost of bringing over English workmen to the colony. This idea of an emigration fund raised by sales of land originated with Wakefield, and was the essential feature of his system. It is discussed and warmly praised by Mill in the last chapter of his "Political Economy." In every colony there were to be neither more nor less hands available than required.

**A Scheme of Emigration Praised by Mill**

The Government at first took up almost the same attitude toward Wakefield's plans and the proposals of the South Australian Land Company as toward the founders of Port Phillip. There was a reluctance to sap existing settlements by establishing new ones; and, further, it seemed impolitic to confer legislative rights on a private company. On the other hand, the influence of the Wakefield family was strong, and possibly this new system might prove more lasting than those previously adopted. The Government therefore, in 1834, resolved to make an attempt on the lines of Wakefield's plan. The means for the undertaking were to be furnished by the company. The direction of land sales and emigration was placed in the hands of three commissioners in London; in the colony itself the Government reserved the right to nominate a Governor and some other officials, while the rest were to be nominated by the company. It was definitely promised that no convicts should be transported from the United Kingdom to the colony. The first three ships sailed from England in February, 1836. Two landed in July on Kangaroo Island, where the passengers immediately began to establish themselves on Nepean Bay; the third ship, which did not arrive until August, sailed to the coast of the mainland and the banks of the River Torrens. The choice of this landing-place by Colonel Light seemed to most of the newcomers as unsuitable as the choice by them of Nepean Bay appeared to him. In the next year, the votes of the colonists were finally given in favour of the spot chosen by Light; and the building of a town, which, at the wish of King William IV., was called Adelaide, after his consort, was at once begun.

**Emigration and Sales of Land**

The development of the young colony shows a bright and a gloomy side. The existence of two sets of officials, and the numerous restrictions which were imposed on the officials of the company, soon led to such friction that the majority of both parties had to be recalled. These measures exercised little influence on the purely economic development. In 1837 alone more than 60,000 acres of land were sold, from which £43,151 accrued to the company. Up to the middle of 1839 a quarter of a million acres had been sold, bringing

**Friction in the Early Settlement**

in £230,000. In 1840 there were 10,000 settlers, who owned 200,000 sheep and 15,000 head of cattle.

The rapid and brilliant rise of South Australia, like that of Victoria, was followed by a great financial crash. The frenzy for speculation in land had grown to a prodigious extent; and, although wages reached a giddy height (skilled workmen earned up to fifty shillings a day), the profits to be made by speculation proved a greater attraction and distracted many from industrial enterprise. In addition to this, the second Governor of the colony, Colonel Gawler, allowed himself to be led into constructing large public buildings and parks, although the mother country had expressly refused to bind herself to any contributions. The colony had very soon to deal with a debt of £405,000. The South Australian Company was equally to blame with Colonel Gawler for this turn of affairs. The head of the company, Angas, had also speculated in a manner quite contrary to the objects which Wakefield had in view. He invested half the company's capital in land, engaged in whale fishery, trading, and banking, and induced the colonists, by guaranteeing them an excessively high interest on deposits, to entrust him with their cash. The commissioners also did not rightly understand their duties. The price which had been fixed for land before the founding of the colony was £1 an acre; huge tracts had been disposed of at that figure. But instead of raising the price, they took the astonishing step of reducing it to twelve shillings.

**Speculation and its Results**

Some improvement of the situation was finally effected by the appointment of George Grey to guide the colony. His name will always be conspicuous in the history of the British colonies, but it is also famous in the field of ethnography. On his return from his two journeys through Western Australia in 1837 to 1839 he had prepared a memorandum, showing the methods by which the British possessions in the South Seas and in South Africa should be administered. When South Australia declared itself bankrupt in 1841 the opportunity was offered him of putting his theory into practice. By his appointment to be Governor in Adelaide the administration of the Colonies practically was transferred to the English Government.

Grey found a heavy task awaiting him. The treasury was empty; a host of officials had eaten up the revenue of the colony, and the burden of debt was crushing, notwithstanding that some of the bills drawn by Gawler upon the Home Government, which had been dishonoured on presentation, were ultimately paid by the British Parliament. Grey's first step was to discontinue all building not imperatively urgent, to dismiss superfluous officials, and to lower the salaries of the rest. An improvement was soon apparent. In 1841, out of 299,077 acres sold, only 2,503 had been under cultivation; at the end of 1842 there were more than 20,000 cultivated, and that with an increase in the population from 14,600 to 17,000 souls. Unfortunately for the colony, the mother country was not willing to take over the rest of the old burden of debt. Grey was neither able nor willing simply to break with the existing financial methods; he issued bills drawn on the Home Government, but only a small part of them were paid. This caused ill-feeling in South Australia, where the financial crisis reached its height in 1843. Meanwhile the situation grew more tolerable as rich veins of copper were discovered and worked. From that time South Australia has developed regularly with a few trifling fluctuations, easily explicable from the youth of the undertaking. The population amounted in 1848 to 38,600 whites, against 3,700 natives; the trade, in 1839 only £427,000, reached in 1849

**The Task of a great Pro-Consul**



VIEW OF ADELAIDE IN 1860



Photos, Edwards and Exclusive News Agency.

**PRESENT-DAY SCENES IN ADELAIDE, THE CAPITAL OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA**
1. Parliament House; 2. Town Hall; 3. University; 4. The principal street.

the sum of £888,000, of which £504,000 came from exports.

The term of office of George Grey, so fraught with blessing for South Australia, ended in 1845—it was his fortune always to be placed in a position where a keen sight and a tight grip were necessary—for he was then removed to New Zealand. The history of his unimportant successors is featureless except for the efforts of the colonists to win political self-government. When the colony was founded, the English Government had intended to give it a constitution as soon as the number of inhabitants reached 50,000. In 1842, when the system of commissioners was abolished, a council of eight members, four of whom were officials and four colonists selected by the Governor, was placed under the Governor. In spite of the growing prosperity of South Australia, some years had yet to elapse before the Home Government would make any further concession, although the interests of the colonists were insufficiently represented by the new institution. It then happened that in 1849 the population, contrary to expectation, amounted to 52,000. The Government kept faith, and in 1850 South Australia became a recognised colony. On August 20th, 1851, a council of twenty-four members met for the first time; of these, two-thirds were elected by the colonists, eight—but of these only four might be officials—were nominated by the Governor.




## SOME OF THE LEADING EXPLORERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINENT

Flinders circumnavigated Australia in 1801 and charted much of the north coast. Burke and Wills were the first to cross the continent from south to north, but died of starvation on their way back (1860). Sir Thomas Mitchell, in the thirties, made four expeditions into the interior, and his labours were extremely valuable. Warburton crossed to Western Australia from the east: Sturt was another of the chief explorers, and explored South Australia and the interior in 1845.



# THE MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA

## AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMONWEALTH

THE favourable and rapid development of the younger Australian Colonies in the second half of the "forties" had fostered, among those English statesmen who were interested in the colonies, the idea that the same measure of self-government should be granted them that New South Wales had enjoyed since 1842. Van Diemen's Land and Port Phillip, which were in a position to meet their outgoings entirely from their own resources, had the foremost claim to the independent control of their revenues; but South Australia also was rapidly approaching this same consummation. Western Australia alone lagged behind.

In 1847 these ideas took some tangible shape. Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, openly expressed to the Governor of New South Wales his intention of granting to the young colonies the constitution of 1842; in fact, he wished to take a further step, and to establish in all Australian Colonies, by the side of the Legislative Council, an Upper House, whose members should be drawn from the town communities. Since a vigorous protest against the last two heads of the plan was raised in Australia, he abandoned them, but put the matter before the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. As the result of their deliberations the committee recommended the introduction of a constitution, modelled on that of New South Wales, for Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Port Phillip, and the last-named was to be separated from New South Wales.

**Proposals for New Constitutions**

The elaboration of details was to be entrusted to the various parliaments; but the committee expressed their expectation that the Customs duties and Excise would at first require to be administered by the British Parliament. At the same time the committee advised the introduction of a uniform tariff for all the colonies. The Bill, which was drafted in accordance with the suggestions of the committee, became law on August 5th, 1850, under the title, "An Act for the Better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies." Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Victoria—hitherto Port Phillip—received the constitution recommended by the committee. Western Australia had the prospect of obtaining it so soon as it was able to defray the cost of its civil administration. Every proprietor of land of the value of £100, who was at least twenty-one years of age, had the franchise, as had everyone who occupied a house or rented a farm at the annual value of £10. The customs and excise were settled on the understanding that the colonial Governments decided their amount; but no differential duties were to be imposed. At the same time goods intended for the use of English troops were not dutiable, and existing commercial contracts were not to be prejudiced.

**Uniform Fiscal Policy**

With the Act of August 5th, 1850, the chief step toward the alteration of the constitution of the Australian Colonies was taken; but it did not signify any final settlement. It is true that the receipts from the customs were guaranteed to the colonies, but they were still collected by officials nominated from England. Again, the profits from the sale of the Crown lands were not entirely at the disposal of the Australians, since half was applied by the mother country to the encouragement of emigration. Finally, the nomination of the higher officials

rested completely with the Home Government. A general agitation against the retention of these powers was raised directly after the introduction of the new constitution. Absolute self-government, without any restrictions, was demanded,

**Government without Restrictions**

and the English Government did not delay to concede this clamorous demand. In April, 1851, the entire management of the Customs was put into the hands of the colonies; the following year the application of the proceeds of the digger's licences was entrusted to them, and at the same time it was left to their discretion to bring before the English Government their further wishes as to the completion of the constitution. At the end of 1854, the colonies submitted their propositions to the Government. Those of South Australia and Tasmania received the Royal assent at once, while those of Victoria and New South Wales were reserved to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, on the ground that they involved concessions which the Crown by itself was powerless to make. The confirmation of Parliament was granted, after some slight amendments had been made, in the year 1855.

The contents of the new constitutions may be briefly recapitulated as follows. The most essential innovation, which was common to all four colonies, was the transition from the single-chamber system to the dual-chamber system. By the side of the former Legislative Council, which was thenceforth the First Chamber, or Upper House, came in each case an Assembly, or Lower House. In New South Wales the former consisted of twenty-one members nominated by the Crown for life, while the Lower House, according to the scheme, numbered fifty-four representatives, who were chosen from the well-to-do classes of electors possessing a certain income. At the present day the number of members of the Upper House is unlimited, while that of the Lower House amounts to ninety; these are elected for three years. The Council of Victoria comprised, after the law of 1855, thirty members—at the present day forty-eight; the Assembly, seventy-five (now ninety-five). Both Houses are

**Details of the New Constitutions**

elective in this colony. The members hold office for six and three years. In South Australia the Council, nominated by the Crown, consisted of twelve: the Assembly, elected by votes, comprised thirty-six members; but in 1856 voting was introduced for the Upper House also, and the number of its members was fixed at eighteen. The number in the Upper



IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE GOLD RUSH: A BUSY SCENE AT BENDIGO



GOLD-SEEKERS: THE PIONEERS WHO HAVE FOUNDED SO MANY AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITIES

House was raised later to twenty-four, sitting for twelve years, and in the Lower House to fifty-four members, elected for three years, who were well paid. In 1902, however, the number of representatives was lowered to eighteen and forty-two. In Tasmania, finally, the Council has always numbered eighteen, and the Assembly thirty-seven representatives, who are all elected.

In each colony there is a Governor, nominated by the Crown, but paid by the colony. The usual term of office is six years. The position of the Governor with regard to the legislature and the Cabinet is that of a constitutional sovereign. But his power is also limited by the instructions which he receives from the Colonial Office. His assent is necessary to all Colonial Legislation; but a Bill which has received his assent, though it is then provisionally enforced as law, may be disallowed by the Colonial Office. It would not be possible to discuss within the limits of our space the question as to the real influence which the Governor exercises in virtue of these legal powers. Indeed, his influence, which in the case of a man of strong character may be very great, is, like that of the King, rather personal and extra-legal.

**Powers of the Governors**

The highest executive officials are the Ministers, whose number varies from six in Tasmania to nine in New South Wales.

**The New Colony of Queensland**

The grant of full self-government to the Australian Colonies in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the separation of Victoria as an independent colony from New South Wales, did not complete the organisation and the external enlargement of this Colonial system. Since gold had been found in large quantities in the district of Moreton Bay, in 1858, at the petition of the inhabitants this also was separated from New South Wales, and, under the name of Queensland, was provided with the same self-government as the elder sister colonies. The Legislative Council contains forty-one members nominated by the Crown, the Assembly seventy-two members elected for three years. Seven Ministers are associated with the Governor, who is nominated by the Crown.

The growth of Queensland has been as steady as that of most of the other colonies. The year 1866 brought drought and great mortality among the cattle, involving the ruin of many businesses and private

individuals; the financial crisis also, at the beginning of the "nineties" struck the colony with great force. But in spite of these blows the population has grown comparatively rapidly and prosperity has increased. The number of inhabitants, which in 1861 hardly amounted to 35,000, had reached 147,000 in 1873; on January 1, 1913, it amounted to 636,425 souls. This growth, which is due principally to large immigration, has been much helped by the policy of subsidising the immigrants, adopted since 1871. The rich gold-fields, of which some twenty-five are being worked at the present day, attracted large multitudes. The immense size of Queensland, stretching through eighteen degrees of latitude, and the consequent variety of industries—in the sparsely-peopled north all the tropical products are grown, while in the densely-inhabited south the crops of the temperate zone are cultivated—led some years ago to the idea of its division into two provinces with separate governments, but a common central administration. The twenty-first degree of southern latitude was suggested as the boundary line.

**Queensland's Material Prosperity**

Western Australia was the last of the Australian Colonies to receive self-government. The system of transportation was in force there until the year 1868. Its discontinuance did not alter the relations to the mother country. The year 1870 saw the introduction of a Legislative Council composed of members partly nominated, partly elected; but it was not until October 21, 1890, that the previous Crown Colony joined the ranks of the other colonies on equal terms. Its Council contains twenty-four members, the Assembly forty-four, all of whom are elected. The development of Western Australia has only recently been more rapid, since large gold-fields of great extent were discovered in 1887. The population, numbering in 1881 barely 30,000 souls, has increased, almost entirely through immigration, to over 300,000. The internal development of the Colonies was early accompanied by the effort to spread the power of Australia beyond the limits of the continent. This was noticeable as far back as 1869 in the opening of the Fiji question; but no real oversea expansion took place before 1883. Notwithstanding the position of New Guinea in the immediate vicinity of Australia, neither the Colonies nor England itself had ever shown any inclination to acquire territory there. It was only about the middle of the 'seventies, when rumours of Germany's intentions on the immense island were prevalent, that the Australians remembered its proximity, and New South Wales suggested off hand the incorporation of that part of New Guinea which was not subject to Dutch suzerainty. England assented, on the stipulation that the Australians bore the cost of administration; that they refused. The question, however, was still discussed in Australia, and when the Germans really threatened to take steps, the Premier of Queensland, on his own responsibility, declared that he had taken possession of the eastern portion of the island in March, 1883. England then shrank from placing the destiny of so large a territory in the hands of the small population of Queensland, although the Australian Colonial Conference in December was in favour of the acquisition. Meanwhile Germany actually took possession of the north of the island, and England was obliged to content herself, on November 6, 1884, with the south-east alone. At the present day British New Guinea is governed by the Commonwealth as a separate colony. A Governor and a Chief Justice have been appointed by the Federal Government and the island is a dependency of Australia.

**Grant of Self-Government**

**The British Flag in New Guinea**

The solution of the question of self-government would certainly not have been so quickly reached had not all the conditions in Australia at the beginning of the 'fifties been suddenly and radically altered by the discovery of rich gold-fields in various districts. Gold had already been found during the construction of the road over the Blue Mountains (1814). The Government had hushed up the discovery from fear that it would be unable to control the excitement which would assuredly be caused by its publication. It was only when the opening of the Californian mines in 1848 had attracted the attention of the world that serious attention was paid to the precious metal in Australia. An Australian blacksmith, Hargreaves, who had spent some years in California, carefully examined the mountains near Bathurst, in February, 1851, and on the 12th of that month he found quantities of alluvial gold in Lewes Pond Creek.



HOISTING THE BRITISH FLAG IN NEW GUINEA

Fearing that the Germans would take over the island of New Guinea, the Premier of Queensland took formal possession of the eastern portion in March, 1883. Germany took over the northern portion.

This discovery did not remain a secret like the former one. The whole continent rang with the news, and by May dense crowds of colonists were flocking to the place. A few weeks later gold was also found near Ballarat in Victoria: then in October also near Mount Alexander, north of Melbourne. A few months later the veins of gold at Bendigo to the south were also discovered. In Queensland, gold was not found until 1858, and in Western Australia not until 1886-1887.

**The Gold Fever**

The effect of these discoveries upon the world was indescribable. In the first place the whole population of Australia caught the gold fever. Every man who could work or move, whether labourer, seaman, or clerk, rushed to the gold washings. The old settlements were so emptied of their inhabitants that Melbourne for a long time had only one policeman available. South Australia produced the impression of a country inhabited merely by women and children. The situation was the same in Tasmania, and even in New Zealand. Afterward, when the news of the discoveries reached America and the Old World, a new wave of immigrants flooded the country, and the whole overflow of the population streamed into the gold-fields.

Under these circumstances the population of Australia rapidly increased. In Victoria, where the influx was the greatest, the population had numbered 70,000 souls in July, 1851: nine months later that number was living on the gold-fields alone, and in 1861 the whole population of the colony amounted to 541,800 souls. New South Wales then reckoned 358,200 inhabitants; South Australia 126,800: Tasmania 90,200; Queensland had 34,800, and Western Australia 15,600. This rise in the figures of the population was encouraging to the economic development of the Colonies, but it put the Government which was suddenly confronted with these occurrences in a very difficult position. The exodus of civil servants from their recently created posts was so universal that the administration threatened to come to a standstill. Salaries were doubled, but to no purpose; the attraction of the gold-fields was too potent. The Governor of Victoria found himself finally compelled to apply to England for a regiment of soldiers, who could not run away without being liable to a court-martial. The Government offices were at the same time filled by two hundred pensioned prison warders, brought over from England.

**Difficulties Caused by the Influx**

The Government was soon faced by another class of difficulties arising from its legal position toward the new branch of industry. According to the view of the legal advisers of the Government all mines of precious metals, whether on Crown land or private property, belonged to the Crown. They advised the Governors therefore to prohibit gold-mining absolutely, in order not to disturb the peaceful development of the Colonies. Under the prevailing conditions this counsel was as superfluous as it was foolish, since the means at the disposal of the authorities were absolutely insufficient to enforce it. Sir Charles Fitzroy, the Governor of New South Wales, contented himself with issuing a proclamation, as soon as the first find of gold was publicly announced, which permitted gold-mining on Crown land only on payment of a fixed prospecting tax of thirty shillings a month: and on the discovery of rock gold claimed for the Government ten per cent. of the proceeds of working the quartz. This order naturally met with little response from the gold-diggers, however much in other respects it was calculated to aid the development of the colony by increasing the public resources. It is true that they agreed to it in New South Wales, where the political situation had not been so violently disturbed, but not so in Victoria, where the Governor had also adopted the enactment of Sydney. For one thing, the Government was not so firmly established there as in the mother colony; and Victoria had also received a very high percentage of the roughest and most lawless people as new members of the population. Not every one of them was so fortunate as to find gold; they could not pay the high fee, and began to agitate, first, against the amount of the impost; secondly, against the institution itself. The ill-feeling was soon universal, not only in the gold-fields, but also in the old settlements and towns.

**Laws to Regulate Gold-mining**

The prevalent idea was that the application of the large sums derived from the licences and imposts merely to the payment of the costs of the administration did not meet the interests of the population, and that the system should be




PROCESSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF AUSTRALIA AT THE MELBOURNE EXHIBITION OF 1888

changed. A reduction of the tax did not satisfy anybody; on the contrary, disturbances in the camps became more and more frequent. A murder had been committed in October, 1854, in Eureka Camp near Ballarat. The feeble police force made some blunders in following up the case, and consequently disturbances broke out among the gold-diggers, which were soon aimed at the hated prospecting licence; and, finally, when the Governor had sent all the troops at his disposal into the riotous district, a regular battle was fought on December 3 between thirty gold-diggers and a body of soldiers. Out of the 120 rioters who were captured, the ringleaders were sent to Melbourne to be tried, but there was no court to be found which, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of guilt, would pronounce a verdict against them.

**Disturbances on the Gold-fields**

The tax question was settled only in 1855. A gold-digger's licence, costing £1 for the year, was substituted for the monthly prospecting tax, which was abolished. In order to cover the loss of revenue to the colonial exchequer, an export duty of half a crown on every ounce of gold was imposed. This wise measure laid the imposts primarily on the successful gold-digger, a policy which secured a good reception for the law and satisfied all parties. Before the end of the year the Governor of Victoria was able to report to London that quiet prevailed in every camp.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the respective histories of each colony, because each has followed, in the main, along the same lines of political and economic development. The turning-point with all was the discovery of gold, which caused a rush of population from Great Britain that entirely shifted the political centre of gravity.

The first use which every state made of its new powers was in the direction of democratising political institutions. The franchise was gradually reduced until all disabilities from poverty were removed; and, since 1900, universal adult suffrage, without distinction of sex, has been established in every state except Victoria. Every colony also has had its conflicts between the elective Assembly and the nominated Council, which have resulted either in a lessening of the money qualification of the councillor, or, as in Victoria and South Australia, in the replacement of the nominee by the elective system.

**Votes for Women**

It has been found by experience that those Upper Chambers which rest upon an elective basis are more powerful than those whose members are nominated. Thus, the Legislative Council of Victoria has always been able to assert its will in opposition to the Assembly; while the Legislative Council of New South Wales, like the House of Lords, having always the fear of "swamping" before its eyes, has always yielded to the ascertained wish of the majority of electors. Disputes between the two Houses have generally arisen over money Bills, the Assembly claiming that the Upper House has only the powers of the House of Lords with regard to these—that is to say, that it may reject but not amend them, the Council insisting that it has every power of a legislative chamber, of which it has not been expressly deprived by the Constitution Act. Usage has confirmed the claim of the Assembly in this respect until it has become a part of the unwritten constitution. The constitution of Victoria expressly prohibits the Council from amending a money Bill. This led to the two gravest political disputes in Australian history.

**The Upper Houses and Finance**

In 1863, the McCulloch Ministry imposed protective duties. The measure was rejected by the Upper House. The Customs Duties Bill was then tacked to the Appropriation Bill. The Council refused to be tricked in this way, and rejected the Appropriation Bill. An appeal to the electors returned a large majority in favour of the new duties. Meantime, in the absence of an Appropriation Bill, public servants could not be paid their salaries, and all creditors of the Crown had to wait for their money. The ingenious device was then resorted to of drawing money from a bank to pay the State creditors and immediately confessing judgment when the bank sued for its recovery.

The order of the Supreme Court thus became a warrant to repay the money to the bank, by whom it was immediately lent again to the Government and the same process repeated. In order to prevent Parliamentary proceedings from being reduced to a farce, the Council, after a conference, yielded. But a similar difficulty arose again in 1873, when, Sir



AUSTRALIAN BANK CRISIS OF 1892: SCENE OUTSIDE THE UNION BANK, MELBOURNE

Graham Berry being Premier, the Council rejected a Bill for the payment of Members. This was again tacked to the Appropriation Bill, which was again rejected by the Council. The Government on this occasion simply deferred the payment of its debts and dismissed most of the public servants.

The situation thus created was so impossible that the two Houses soon agreed to terms. The Appropriation Bill was passed without the sums for the payment of Members, and the dispute was referred to the Secretary of State in London. Sir Graham Berry and Professor Charles Pearson, a member of his Cabinet, personally preferred a request to the British Government to provide a means of escape from constitutional deadlocks. The Secretary of State, however, refused to interfere, and thus finally established the principle that the Colonies are absolute masters in their own household. In 1880 the Council passed the Bill for payment of Members.

**Several Constitutional Deadlocks**

Simultaneously with the agitation for greater political powers, and for the same reason—namely, the influx of population—the eternal land question entered upon a new phase in all the colonies. Not all of the many thousands of immigrants could be employed in gold-mining, and many of the diggers were unsuccessful. Few matters caused the authorities of those days more anxiety than the task of finding employment for the new settlers. The private companies which, both in Victoria and New South Wales, had undertaken the construction of railways proved in every case unable to complete their task. The Governments of the two colonies took over the undertakings. But every extension of the railways into more fertile districts increased the demand for land and strengthened the antagonism between the small settler, who required a freehold, and the pastoral lessee. The interests of the two classes were at that time irreconcilable; but obviously it was to the interest of the country to encourage the small settler, even at the expense of the squatter. Unfortunately, heated passions were aroused, and the leaders of neither side foresaw that the difficulties would solve themselves by the mere increase of population. Consequently, a measure was passed in 1861 by Sir John Robertson which showed too plainly an animus against the squatters.

**Employment Difficulties for New Settlers**

The result was a class warfare which distracted New South Wales for more than twenty years. The principle of the measure—which was copied, with modifications, by every other colony—was the permission to any man of full age to enter upon and mark out—or, as it was called, "select"—an area ultimately fixed at 640 acres of Crown lands, whether these were vacant or in the occupation of a squatter, and, by residence and the payment of £1 per acre, by annual instalments of one shilling, to become its owner. While this measure was a measure of justice when the agricultural districts near the coast were occupied as sheep-runs, it worked great hardship in the more remote districts, which at that time, in the absence of means of transport, were unsuitable to agriculture. A class of blackmailers grew up, who travelled the country "selecting" a few picked spots of a run—*e.g.*, the paddocks containing water—picking out the eyes like a cockatoo, as it was called—whose only object was to be bought out by the squatter. The squatters, in self-defence, were forced to purchase all the strategic portions of their run, and by thus "peacocking" it they prevented settlement.

**A Law that Encouraged Blackmail**

Another device of self-protection was the employment of "friendly" selectors, who would be supplied by the squatter with funds to make the necessary "improvements," and at the end of his term of residence would sell to the station. Selections of this sort were called "Dummies," and such a proceeding was made a misdemeanour. Yet, so powerless are laws when they make offences of what the community regard as legitimate methods of self-defence, that though "dummying" has been notoriously practised on almost every large station in New South Wales, only one person has been convicted of the offence, and he by his own confession. The difficulties of the situation were increased by the selector being allowed to bring action for trespass in respect of his holding before it was fenced. The selector alleged that the squatter drove his sheep on to his holding; the squatter, in his turn, said that they were driven there by the selector, who wanted to make out of a lawsuit the money which he would never get out of his land.

**Recurrence of Land Difficulties**

By 1884 the situation had become intolerable. The climatic conditions and the potentialities of the different portions of the colony had become better known, and the railways had been driven far into the interior. It was seen that while 640 acres were an excessive holding in the rich agricultural districts of the seaboard, they were wholly insufficient to provide a living in the pastoral districts. The colony was consequently divided into three districts—eastern, central, and western—which were placed under the charge of local boards, and a special tribunal was appointed to settle disputes. The pastoralists in the eastern and central divisions were given a fifteen-years tenure of half their runs, while the other half was thrown open to selection. New tenures were introduced in the form of long leaseholds, under varying conditions, and conditional purchases of the freehold were forbidden in the western district. This measure was amended in 1895 and 1897, when the old feud between selector and squatter may be said to have died out.

The wool industry is still the mainstay of Australia, but pastoralists have learnt the value of agriculture, and experience has proved that even the unlikely lands of the western district can be made to grow wheat profitably. The demand for land, however, in the richer districts of each colony, which were naturally the first to be held in freehold by the early settlers, is still beyond the supply, and every Government has had to consider measures for breaking up the excessive estates held by private owners whose wealth makes them indifferent to using them most profitably.

**Evils of Large Land Holdings**

The other states avoided the principal evils of the New South Wales Land Act by throwing open only specified areas for free selection, or providing that only surveyed lands should be open to this form of acquisition. No other state, however, has the same variety or extent of good lands as New South Wales.

The fiscal question divided parties in all the Australian states within a few years of the grant of responsible government. The cause was again the number of new immigrants and the necessity of finding employment for men who were tired of gold-digging. Professor Rabbeno has observed that the movement towards Protection is synchronous with the absorption of the more fertile public lands by private owners. This was certainly the



THE AUSTRALIAN LABOUR TROUBLE OF 1890

The most memorable of Australia's industrial crises was the Labour and Shipping Strike at Melbourne in 1890. The illustrations represent: 1. Troopers escorting non-union men to the Melbourne gas-works. 2. Pickets trying to stop men from going to Gas Company's office for employment. 3. Mounted infantry arriving at Spencer Street Station from the country to preserve order. 4. Mass meeting of strikers in Flinders Park, Melbourne, on August 31.

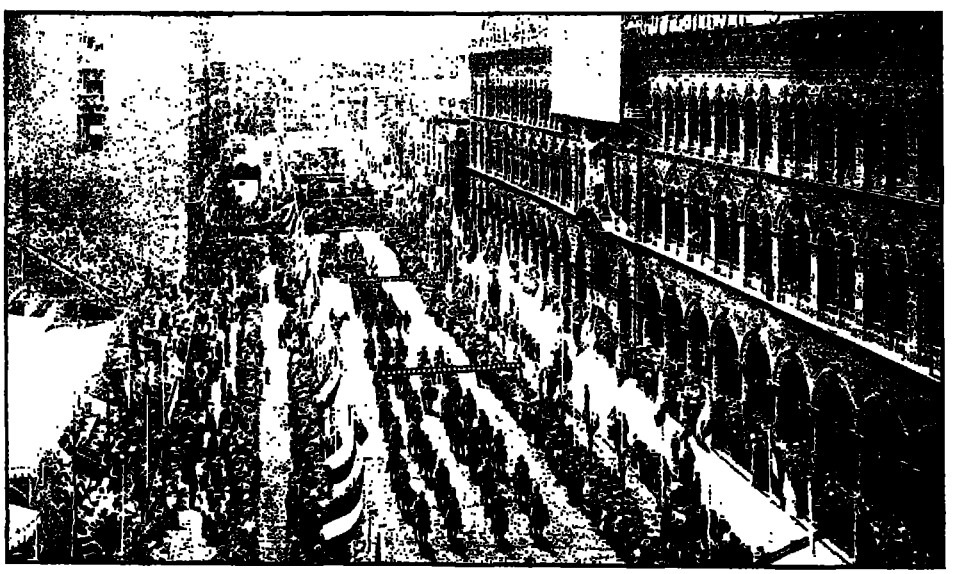
case in Victoria, where the good agricultural land is comparatively a small area, the freehold of which had passed into the hands of a few very wealthy men. At first employment was found on public works, which were constructed out of Government loans and the proceeds of the sale of public lands. Victoria entered the London money market first and sold her lands earlier than the other colonies. She was thus the first to be compelled to adopt a protective policy. New South Wales lived longer on loan money and sold more acres of land. She had also a low tariff, which was only incidentally protective.

**Beginning of Protective Policy**

The relative progress of the two states was for a long time the classic example used by Free Traders and Protectionists alike, although they did not quote the same figures, to prove the superiority of a Free Trade policy. Now, however, that since 1900 New South Wales has come under the protective tariff of the Commonwealth, her progress has been so much more rapid that it is evident that her apparent superiority over Victoria in the early days was due to natural causes, and not to her fiscal policy. The controversy has ceased to be a live issue in Australia since the Commonwealth definitely adopted a protective tariff, which has been approved by the people in two General Elections, and has, on the public admission of Free Traders, "come to stay." One result has been to stimulate immigration by the establishment of new industries. Every year sees the establishment of branches of European or foreign factories to supply the goods which, previous to the tariff, were imported.

All State aid to religion was withdrawn in New South Wales immediately upon responsible government. In the other colonies it never existed. In every colony education is compulsory. Religious teaching is given in New South Wales upon the Irish national system. In Victoria it does not form part of the curriculum. A right of entry is given to the clergy of any denomination during school hours to give religious instruction to the pupils of his persuasion; but this is rarely availed of except by the Church of England. Secondary and technical schools exist in all the capitals and in some of the large towns. The State gives bursaries, which take a child from the State school, through the intermediate, to the university. The system of teaching, and the curriculum of the State schools, is antiquated, and could be much improved. From motives of economy, the pupil teacher system is encouraged, and its evils are apparent. The Roman Catholics have established separate

**Conditions of State Education**



King, Sydney

A RED-LETTER DAY FOR THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES

Federal Procession of February 1, 1901, passing Sydney Post Office, where an illuminated map of Australia was exhibited.

# THE FIRST LEADERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH



Sir EDMUND BARTON
Premier



Sir JOHN FORREST
Minister for Defence



Sir WILLIAM LYNE
Minister for Home Affairs



LORD HOPETOUN
Governor-General



Hon. JAMES G. DRAKE
Postmaster-General



Rt. Hon. CHAS. KINGSTON
Trade and Customs



Sir GEORGE TURNER
Treasurer



Rt. Hon. G. H. REID
Opposition Leader



Sir RICHARD BAKER
President of Senate



Hon. ALFRED DEAKIN
First Attorney-General
and present Premier



Sir EDWARD BRADDON
Senior Member for Tasmania

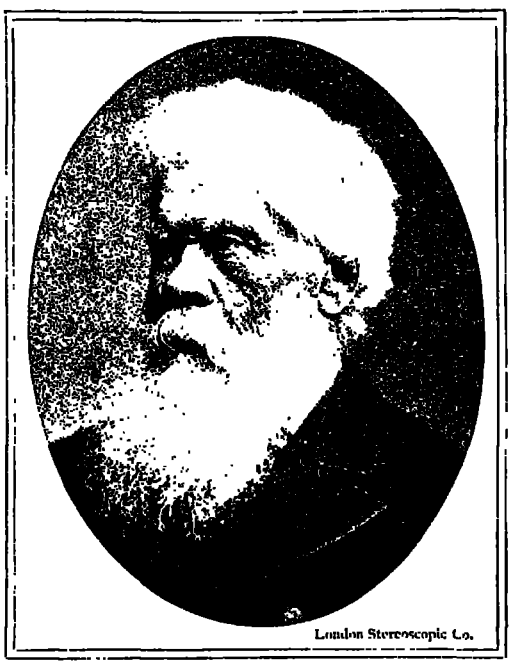


Sir J. R. DICKSON
Minister for Defence

Photographs by British Australasian, Ltd.; Russell & Sons, Elliott & Fry, London; Newman, Sydney; and Hammer & Co., Adelaide

schools, and their alleged desire to get State assistance, either directly or by the system of payment by results, has led to strong sectarian divisions, which have always to be reckoned with in an election, though they are not much spoken of.

From 1877 to 1890 large sums were spent by all the states in assisting immigration. Employment was found for the newcomers on railways and other public works, which were constructed out of moneys borrowed in London. The period was one of immense prosperity, and large sums of English money were invested, on deposit at call, or for short periods, with the Colonial banks, at rates of interest from 5 per cent. to 7 per cent., which were lent again by the banks on mortgage for fixed terms to squatters who required money for improvements or for the purchase of their runs for protection against selectors. So long as loan moneys were plentiful, there was no danger in this process; but when borrowing was reduced and there came a cycle of bad seasons, the banking resources of the colony were unequal to the strain, and a crisis occurred in 1892, from the effects of which Australia is only now recovering.

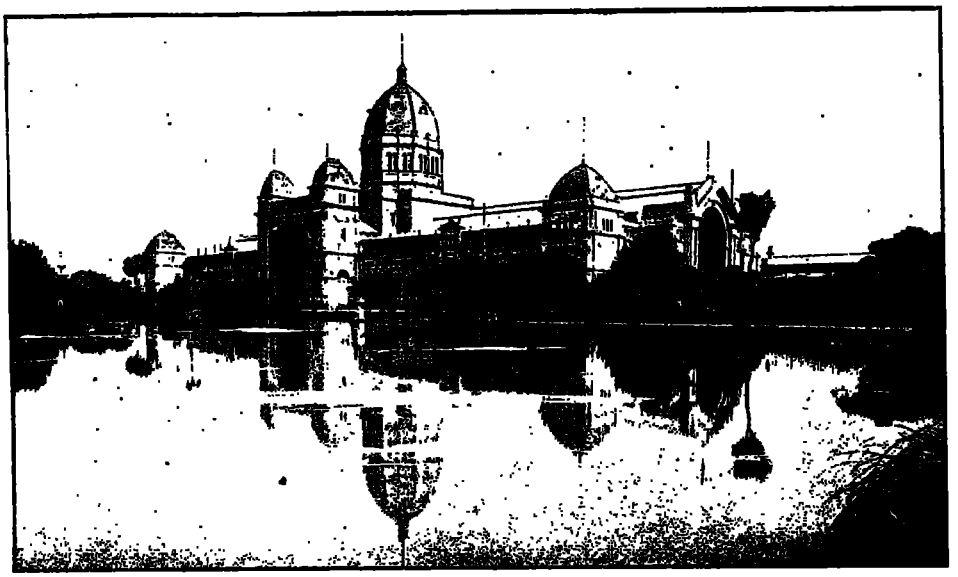



SIR HENRY PARKES
Formerly Premier of New South Wales and the father of Australian Federation, which was consummated Jan. 1, 1901.

Simultaneously with this shock to the credit of Australia, a portent appeared in the political horizon which was at first sight no less terrifying to foreign capitalists. Australia had always been democratic—she had introduced the ballot, triennial Parliaments, and Universal Suffrage—but it was not till 1892 that a distinctive "Labour Party" appeared in the New South Wales Parliament. This political organisation was the outcome of an unsuccessful strike, which, beginning with the refusal of a shipowner to reinstate an officer, spread sympathetically throughout the ranks of organised labour.

It was met and defeated by an equally extensive organisation of employers. Beaten, defeated in the strike, the labourers sought their revenge in politics. It must, however, be admitted, looking back over a period of sixteen years, that the work of the party has been inadequate, by comparison with the excessive hopes of its members and the undignified alarm of its opponents. The Labour Party, indeed, was never a party of revolution, and is, indeed, opposed at the elections by the Socialists. Its influence certainly quickened the passage of a measure establishing old age pensions of ten shillings a week to every person over sixty-five (1899); and Women's Suffrage (1901) also owes much to its support. But for the most part it has advocated measures which found place in the programme of one or other of the established parties.

The chief merit of the Labour Party lies not so much in what it has accomplished as in the spirit of greater earnestness and sincerity which it has introduced in Australian politics. Among the measures which owe much to its support is the Industrial Arbitration Act (1901), which provides a tribunal which is empowered to deal with all matters affecting the condition of any industry, whenever a dispute arises between employer and employed. This court can declare a minimum wage, and, under certain circumstances, direct that preference be given to unionists; an order affecting the particular dispute may be made a common rule of the whole trade,



MELBOURNE EXHIBITION, WHERE THE FIRST FEDERAL PARLIAMENT MET, ON MAY 9, 1901

It was first intended to hold the ceremony in the Melbourne Parliament building, but owing to space and other reasons the Exhibition Buildings were finally selected. The landing of the Heir Apparent on the soil of federated Australia was the occasion of a memorable outburst of united welcome from the six colonies, all petty colonial jealousies being forgotten. Receptions at Parliament House and the opening of the first Federal Parliament followed.

in order to prevent any employer obtaining an advantage by methods which the court may have declared unfair. This measure, which depends largely for its success upon sympathetic administration, has, since 1904, been administered by a ministry of professed enemies—who have not, however, ventured to repeal or amend it—and it has been clipped of much of its usefulness by the judicial decisions of a court, some members of which have not hesitated to forget their judicial position and denounce its principles and methods. The Act has, however, been thoroughly successful in putting down sweating, and, even in its crippled condition, has prevented strikes. By one of its clauses, to strike or lock out before invoking the jurisdiction of a court is made a misdemeanour. It has not been found in New South Wales that the workmen refuse to obey the order of the court.

**Arbitration in Labour Disputes**

In 1885, at the request of all the colonies but New South Wales, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act establishing a Federal Council consisting of delegates from the several colonies who were empowered to legislate on certain matters of common interest, and also had a limited authority in respect of internal affairs.

This council, which met annually, never fulfilled the hopes of its founders, among whom Mr. James Service (Victoria) and Sir Samuel Griffith (Queensland) were the chief. New South Wales, under the guidance of its great statesman, Sir Henry Parkes, refused to join the movement, on the ground that the powerlessness of the council to enforce its decrees would have one of two results—either only trival matters would be brought before it, or it would come into conflict with the states. In either case the council would excite prejudice against the more complete union which was always before Sir Henry's eyes. In 1891 Sir H. Parkes, in the face of great obstacles caused by the antagonism of the Victorian Ministers, who resented his holding aloof from the Federal Council, assembled the representatives of all the colonies, including New Zealand, to Sydney, and obtained their agreement to present proposals for federation to their several Parliaments. The main principles of the proposed union were discussed by the assembled Ministers in open debate, and upon the resolutions so arrived at a measure was drafted by Sir Samuel Griffith and Mr. A. Ingles Clark (Tasmania) which has remained the substance of the present constitution. Various untoward circumstances prevented this measure being discussed in the New South Wales

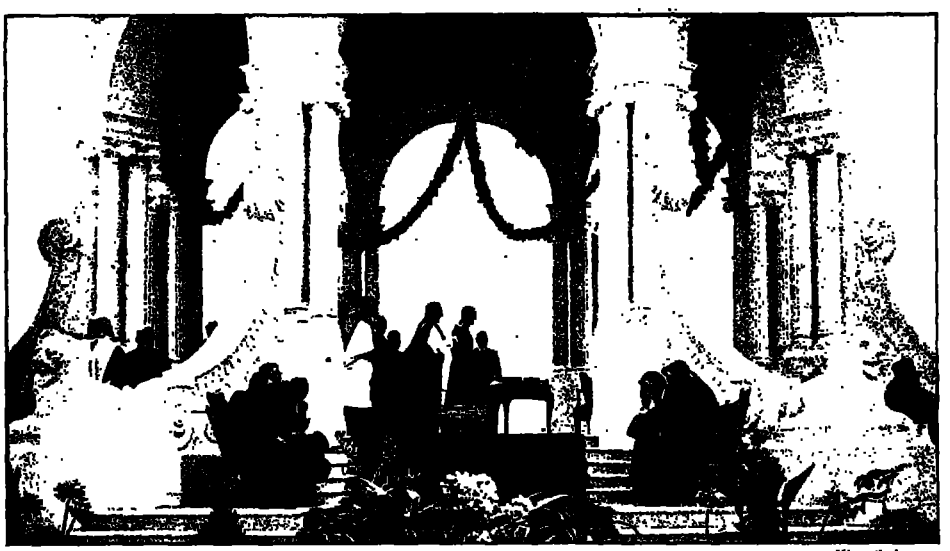
**Father of Federal Movement**

Parliament, and the other colonies waited upon New South Wales. Sir H. Parkes went out of office, and the Ministries which followed were opposed to union. But the popular interest in the movement had been kept alive through the unflagging exertions of Sir Edmund Barton, and Sir Henry Parkes announced his intention (1894) of moving in the matter in Parliament. Mr. Reid, the leader of the Provincialists, was then in office. He cleverly anticipated Sir Henry's attack by adopting a suggestion which had been made by Sir John Quick that a constituent convention should be elected to frame a draft constitution. Sir Henry Parkes was not elected to the Parliament of 1895, and Mr. Reid was in no hurry to hasten the federal movement.

**Convention in Favour of Federation**

The Convention, which consisted of ten representatives elected from each state, met in Adelaide in April, 1897, and was adjourned to Sydney, and again to Melbourne, where its labours were finally completed in May, 1898. The measure, thus passed, had to be adopted by a plebiscite in every state. The Provincialist Parliament of New South Wales endeavoured to secure its rejection by requiring that if there were not 80,000 affirmative votes, the measure should be considered lost. As the total number of anticipated voters was between 170,000 to 200,000, it was thought that this device—which was a flagrant breach of the agreement made by New South Wales and the other states that the question should be decided by a majority—would finally stifle the movement towards union. However, in spite of the bitter opposition of Mr. Reid and the Free Trade party, a majority of votes were cast for the Bill, though the number was 5,000 short of the required minimum. Some trifling alterations were then made in the text of the draft Bill, and in 1899 it was again submitted to the popular vote. On this occasion the majority exceeded the statutory minimum, and New South Wales fell into line with the other states, to the deep resentment of the provincial Free Traders. The Commonwealth thus formed was proclaimed on January 1, 1900, and the history of the several states has from that date merely a local interest.

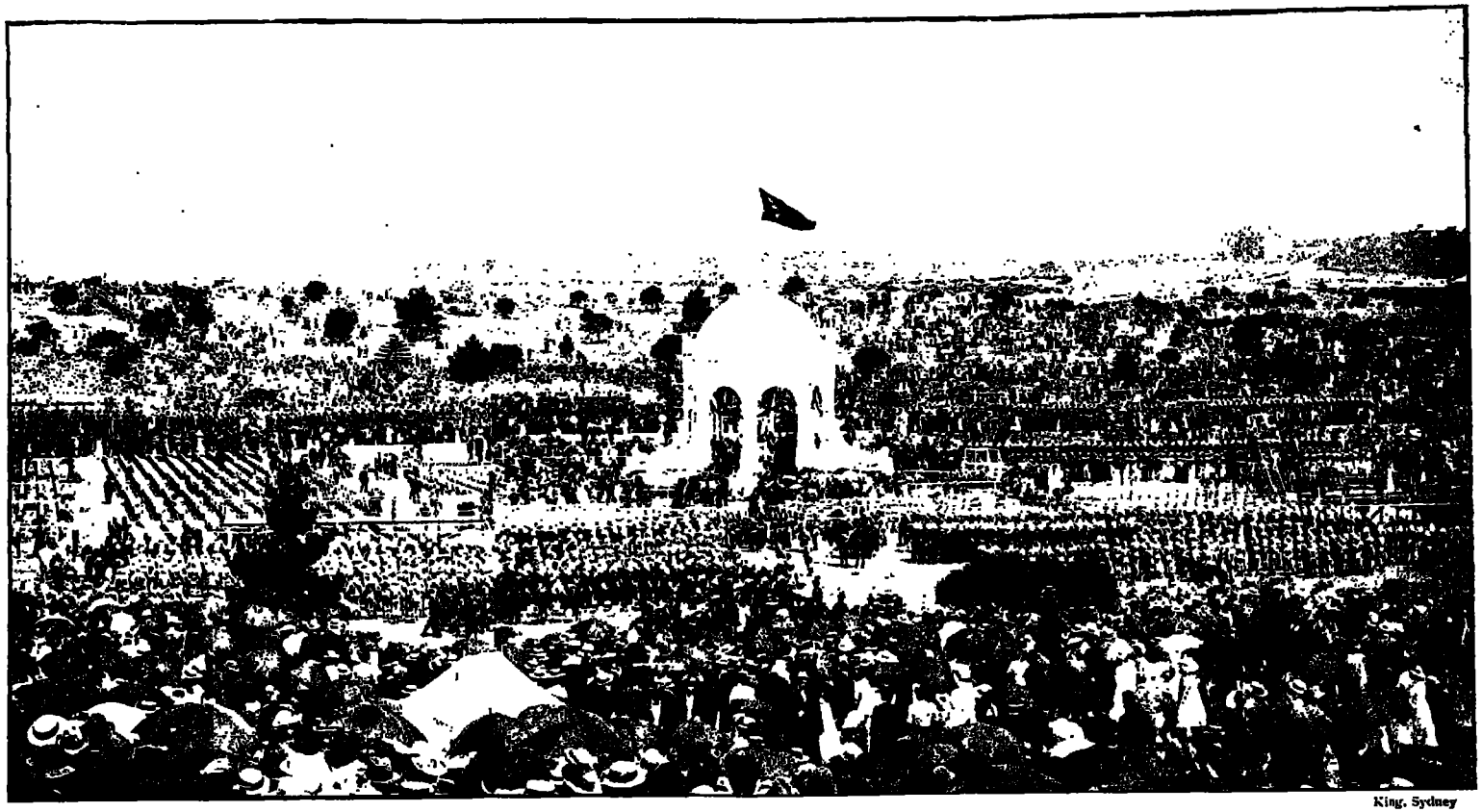
**Federation Finally Secured**



King, Sydney

**BIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH: THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY**

**Standing beside what are now priceless memorials to the Australian people, the table and the inkstand used by Queen Victoria when she signed the Commonwealth Act, Lord Hopetoun, the first Governor-General of the Commonwealth, swore: "I, John Adrian Louis, Earl of Hopetoun, do swear I will well and truly serve our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria in the office of Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of this Commonwealth without fear or favour, affection, or regard. So help me God."**



King, Sydney

THE BIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH: SWEARING-IN CEREMONY IN THE CENTENNIAL PARK, SYDNEY, JANUARY 1, 1901

This photograph shows the natural amphitheatre in which the swearing-in pavilion stood. A quarter of a million people obtained excellent views of the ceremony. The air and space of the continent were thus typified in the inaugural ceremony. Lord Hopetoun and the new Ministry took the oaths of fealty and office at the actual table used by Queen Victoria when she signed the Commonwealth Act in July, 1900. This present of the great Queen to the new Australia was placed for the occasion in the beautiful pavilion.



# AUSTRALIA IN OUR OWN TIME

## BY THE HON. BERNHARD R. WISE

NOT only is the island continent of Australia equal in size, and as varied in climate, as Europe without Siberia, or as the United States without Alaska, but the wide distances are already developing different types in the several states. Nevertheless, beneath this diversity there is an underlying unity.

In no country in the world is there less admixture of races. Australia is completely British. Of the total population taken at the census of 1912—4,530,739—only 166,958 were born outside the British Empire; 4,363,781 were born within the Commonwealth. Contrast this with Canada and her million Frenchmen, or with South Africa, where the English are outnumbered by the Dutch. This homogeneity of race, together with its geographical situation, give Australia its great importance as a unit of the empire.

**Dominant British Element**

By its position it commands the trade route between America and Asia, and is the frontier of the empire on its most vulnerable side—the Far East—where, under its improved military system, it could land a fully-equipped military unit within thirty days of the outbreak of disturbance.

Australia's place in the line of the empire's defence must depend, inevitably, upon the temper of her people. The first or second or third generation of native-born Australians may be, as they are now, British in every instinct; but account must always be taken, in considering the future, of the disintegrating influences of time and distance. As Australians outgrow the somewhat depressing idea of dependency they are taking to the newer and more stimulating idea of Nationalism.

In this mood, and having this ideal, they aim first, as being their immediate duty, to develop Australia. They would have an Australian navy. Already—thanks to the exertions of the Labour Party—they are forming a citizen army, based on universal service. They frame their tariffs solely in order to develop Australian industries, to maintain the Australian market for Australian workmen. The Australian holds that in thus strengthening Australia he helps the empire.

It is often said that Australia neglects her responsibilities by discouraging the growth of population. It is true that an occasional and irresponsible working-class speaker may, at times, exhort his fellows to "keep the good thing for themselves"; but it is not true that there is any general tendency among Australians either to check population or to discourage immigration. Critics should remember the immensity of the continent, and that its physical characteristics have prevented the spread of settlement. There were three stages of settlement in Australia—first, of the fertile lands between the mountains and the sea; secondly, of the uplands; thirdly, of the great plains beyond. Each new stage was rendered possible only by a long experience. The western plains, on which the best wheat now grows, were thought for many years to be unsuitable for settlement; and two generations elapsed before it was discovered that salt-bush was food for sheep. Even now the immense distance of the interior from the seaboard practically blocks it from settlers, so that the full capacity of Australia will never be known until the Commonwealth completes two transcontinental railways—from east to west, and from north to south.

**Growth of National Ideals**

Accordingly, if we would estimate Australia in respect of increase of population we should bear in mind the slow and gradual shifting of agriculture from the coast towards the west. More than half, or 56 per cent., of Australia is still empty

and in the larger states, such as South Australia and West Australia, the proportion of permanent to temporary occupation is very small. Taking Australia as a whole, the average population to the square mile is only 1·52. Victoria, being the smallest, is the most densely populated state; but she had in 1912 only a population of 15·14 to the square mile. The charge against Australia of her unduly small birth-rate is not yet proved. Not that the rate has fallen off in comparison with the years from 1850–1880; but even in 1905 it was at the rate of 24·43 per thousand, which does not compare unfavourably with other countries of a similar standard of civilisation. Probably the apparent decline is due to the earlier rates being abnormal, owing to the rapid influx of young emigrants.

**Sparseness of the Population**

Until 1887 all the colonies assisted immigrants. The large influx of newcomers, and the construction of public works out of loan money, led to great speculations in land, with English money deposited at call. In consequence, first the building societies (1889–1891), and secondly the banks, with few exceptions, stopped payment. Public works were stopped and private expenditure curtailed. The distress led to labour troubles, which were no sooner ended than Australia entered upon the worst and most protracted drought ever known. In 1900, for the first time since the bank failures, there was an excess of arrivals over departures, and with the return of good seasons efforts are being made by all the states to encourage settlement and immigration.

And, indeed, there is no country which holds out better prospects to the immigrant. The climate is as various as that of Europe, but it has no extremes of heat or cold. It ranges for the most part from sub-tropical to temperate; from the land of the mango and grenadilla in the far north, through the sugar-cane regions on the eastern coast, to the potato fields of Victoria, and the snow of the Australian Alps. There is no industry connected with the land in older countries which cannot be carried on profitably in Australia. Whatever an immigrant has done in other lands he may do in some part of Australia. Nor need he be frightened by the bogey of drought. Experience is teaching that drought can be fought by the storage of water and ensilage. The destructiveness of drought in the past has been mainly due to overstocking and the recklessness engendered by good seasons. Further, drought chiefly affects the interior and the coastal regions.

**Attractions Offered to Immigrants**

It is true that the population of Australia is too much concentrated in the capital cities. Of the 4,530,739 people numbered in the 1912 census, 1,660,181 lived in the capitals. The causes of this abnormal concentration are, first, the centralised administration of the several states, which grew out of a military command, and not, as in the United States, out of a town-meeting; secondly, the economic condition of the country. The primary industries are still the principal industries of all the states, and their products are exported. The sea-borne trade of Australia is out of all proportion to the average of other countries, so that it is inevitable that the population should crowd into the cities when the bulk of the people live by exports and imports. As manufacturing competes with the extractive industries, the proportion between town and country population will become more reasonable. It must also be remembered that it was the policy of every State Government to draw all trade to the capital city.

**Australian Industrial Conditions**

It has been aptly remarked that, "strictly speaking, Australian states never resembled distinct states. Trade, geography, England, and 'the crimson thread of kinship' made them one from the first." Obviously, too, the barriers of intercolonial trade, of six distinct tariffs, and the need for defence against foreign aggression, were strong motive towards union. But they were not sufficiently powerful to overcome state jealousies. It was left to Sir Henry Parkes, by the battle cry, "Australia for the Australians," finally to rouse the people to a sense of their responsibilities. This cry, like Sir Edmond Barton's "A continent for a nation, and a nation for a continent," was idealistic without being visionary, and in inculcating respect for a larger self, made men think more kindly of their past lives and of the great future which lay before them. The provincialists showed that they felt instinctively that they were fighting the new spirit of nationalism

by the title of Colonists' Defence League, which they gave their organisation. Colonial dependency was, indeed, dying in the last ditch, and a new idea of empire, almost unnoticed at the time, was springing into life.

The opposition was naturally greatest in New South Wales, as being the oldest colony, and was increased by the attitude of the Free Trade Party, who, placing their fiscal dogma before all else, refused to join the union except on the impossible terms that the smaller colonies—which, unlike New South Wales, had long used up their revenue from waste lands—should abolish their tariff. In the meantime a convention of ten delegates from each state had prepared a Constitution for submission to a referendum. The Bill was approved by a majority in every state after the difficulties, already described, which it met in New South Wales. But at the elections for the following year, New South Wales returned only three Federalists out of sixteen members, and had henceforward, under the influence of its Press and politicians, maintained a consistently anti-federal attitude. This inter-state jealousy, which is unfortunately felt more or less in other states, though nowhere to the same degree as in New South Wales, determined the form of the Constitution. In the choice between the American and the Canadian forms, the American was necessarily adopted to meet the susceptibilities of the different states. Consequently, the Commonwealth has only those powers which are expressly conferred upon it by the Constitution, while all the reserve powers remain with the states.

**Opposition to Scheme of Federation**

This leads to curious conflicts. The Commonwealth is empowered to deal with immigration; but it cannot take a step to settle immigrants on the lands, because these are under the sole control of the states. The Commonwealth also deals with such matters of general interest as: (1) laws relating to customs and excise; (2) trade and commerce; (3) banking; (4) quarantine; (5) industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of one state; (6) navigation and shipping, and other subjects of legislation, making forty-nine in all. A High Court has been established, consisting of five judges, to serve as a much-needed Court of Appeal from the State Courts, and to interpret and protect the Constitution. Any law passed by a State Parliament, in conflict with a federal law or with a constitution, is to that extent void; but in other respects the states retain full power of legislation. The Federal Parliament has two Houses. The franchise in each state for either House is that for the Lower House of the state. The Federal Senate is elected by the state voting as one constituency; is small, sexennial, and has six members from each state. The Federal House of Representatives is triennial, is twice the size of the Senate, and contains representatives from each state proportionately to its population. The original ten or twelve topics of common interest are expanded into forty-nine, and include relations with Pacific islands, laws as to special races—it not aborigines of federating states—and laws to prevent strikes. Inter-state duties and preferences are abrogated. Provision is made for accepting and governing surrendered and acquired territory, and for carving new states out of old states with the consent of the latter. Appeal to the judicial committee of the Privy Council is maintained, but modified.

**Composition of Federal Parliament**

The financial clauses of the Constitution are the least satisfactory, and are, for the moment, causing great friction. The problem before the framers of the Constitution was to ensure inter-state free trade—which involved a common tariff under the control of the Commonwealth—with the financial requirements of each state.

It was evident that the customs receipts from a federal tariff would amount to much more than the federal expenditure. At the same time, each state would find itself deprived of the customs duties, which formed a large, but unequal proportion of their revenues. The logical solution would have been for the Commonwealth to take over sufficient of the State debts, that the interest on these should absorb the surplus. But the provincialists feared that such a power would give the Commonwealth a handle to check future borrowing by the states, and the Constitution finally empowered the Commonwealth only to take over the debts of the states incurred previously to 1900. The Commonwealth Government has offered to propose

**Jealousy of Federal Powers**

an amendment to the Constitution which would enable the states to be relieved of the debts incurred subsequently to 1900; but this proposal to "rob" them of their "debts" has been indignantly rejected.

Deprived of this method of disposing of the federal surplus, and compelled to satisfy the demands of provincialists, that the states should have some security that they would receive their portions, the framers of the Constitution, at the suggestion of the late Sir Edward Braddon, adopted a clause providing that the Commonwealth should return to each state at least three-quarters of the receipts from customs and excise duties. The operation of this clause was limited to ten years.

**State and Federal Revenue**

The expenditure of the Commonwealth is mainly in respect of the services which have been taken over by the Commonwealth from the states—e.g., the post office and telegraphs, defence and, in the immediate future, quarantine. This is called in Federal Budgets "transferred expenditure" The "other expenditure" —as it is called—is the expenditure by the Commonwealth for purely Commonwealth purposes—e.g., the cost of Parliament.

It is obvious that, being relieved of such large items of expenditure as defence, postal services, the collection of customs and excise, and at the same time entitled to receive back from the Commonwealth not less than three-fourths of the proceeds of customs and excise, the states have been, since 1900, in a position to effect great economies.

Friction between the states and the Commonwealth need cause no alarm as to the future. Every federation has experienced the same difficulty, and Provincialism dies of its own pettiness. In Sydney, for instance, the Ministry of the day in 1907, threatened to change the site of the observatory, and thus destroy the value of seventy years' astronomical observations, rather than allow it to pass to the Commonwealth under the clause of the Constitution which empowers them to take over the Astronomical and Meteorological departments of the state. The internal opposition to other federations has been far more formidable. There was the same discontent in the early days of the United States, which found expression in the now half-forgotten rising known to history as the "Whisky Rebellion"; and contemporary observers have related of Canada that during the first ten years of the Dominion not 30 per cent. of Canadians would have voted for its continuance had any opportunity been offered to them of expressing an opinion.

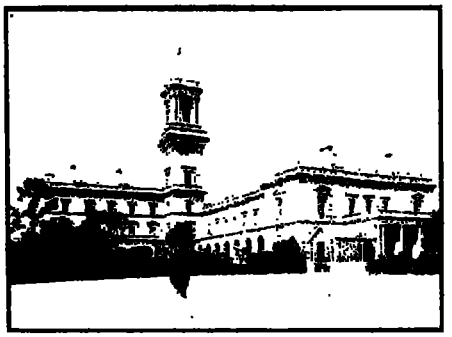
**Provincial Point of View**

It was the same in the case of the Scottish union with Great Britain, which Lockhart, a contemporary, declared to be "a base betrayal and mean giving up of the sovereignty, independence, liberty, laws, interest, and honour of Scotland," and with regard to which he was as thoroughly convinced as any New South Wales Provincialist that "if Scotland had only stood out she would have made her own terms," so satisfied was he that England would not have lost "a good thing." "Had the Scots," he says, "stood their ground, I have good reason to affirm that the English would have allowed a much greater number of representatives. The English saw too plainly the advantage that would accrue to England by a union of the two kingdoms upon his scheme, and would never have stuck at any terms to obtain it."

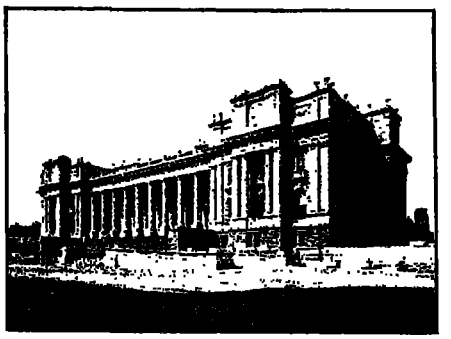
**History Repeats Itself**

It is not at present easy to forecast the political future of Australia. Much depends upon the calibre of Federal members, in which each successive Parliament shows a decline. The salary of a member is too small for a livelihood, and too much for subsistence. Attendance in Parliament involves the abandonment of all business which cannot be carried on in the capital. For this the present salary—£600—gives no compensation; so that there is a growing tendency for Parliament to be composed of rich, old men, and those to whom the salary is the principal attraction. It would have been better if the proposal made at the Convention had been carried, fixing the salary at £1,000 a year.

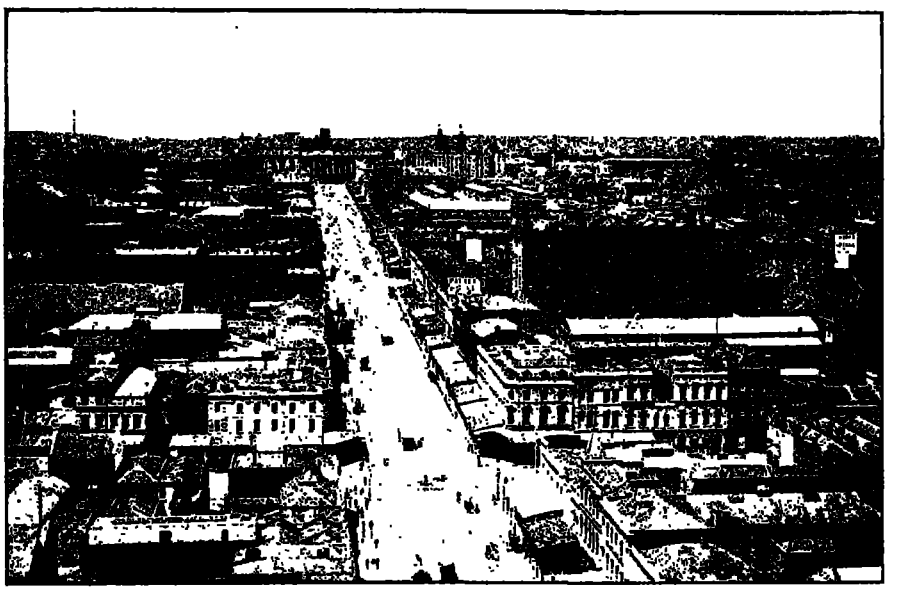
Assuming, however, that Parliament maintains its prestige relatively to the State Parliaments, the probability is that there will be a considerable strengthening and extension of Federal power. The history of America shows that the influence of a central authority increases inevitably and insensibly; and in Australia this tendency will be much increased by the influence of the Labour Party, who, curiously enough, bitterly opposed the establishment



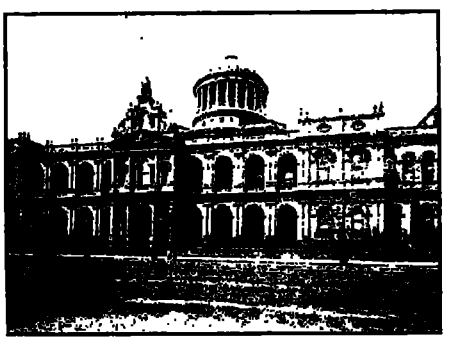
RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT



GENERAL VIEW FROM THE POST-OFFICE BUILDINGS



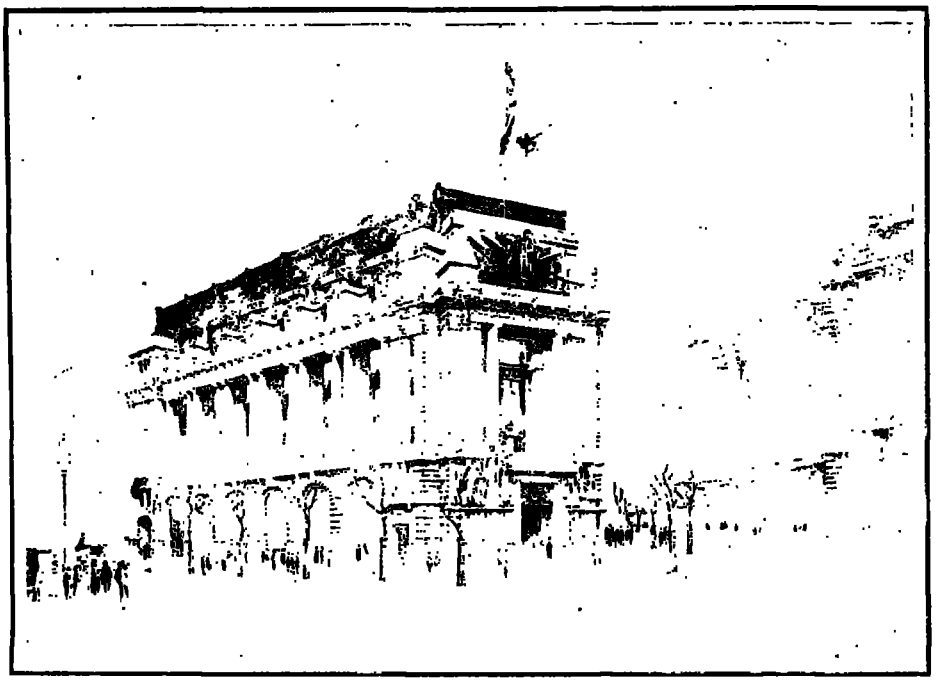
NEW LAW COURTS



GOVERNMENT OFFICES

Photos: Edwards and E. N. A.

PRESENT-DAY PICTURES OF MELBOURNE



OFFICES OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH IN LONDON

of Federation. The levelling up of the conditions of industry in the various states is a principal object of the party; but this involves the equalisation of the conditions in each state. It would be unfair, for example, if the Industrial Arbitration Court in Sydney were to establish a minimum wage in New South Wales which was not paid by trade competitors in other states. Consequently an amendment of the Constitution may be looked for which, in some form or another, will give the Federal Parliament control over all industrial relations within the Commonwealth.

**Federal Parliament and Industry**

It was said by a Federal speaker during the Federal campaign, that Federation would not cost the people of New South Wales two-and-sixpence per head—just the cost of registering a dog! In fact, it has not exceeded eighteenpence per head. Yet the enemies of Federation denounce its extravagance, and declare that its cost is enormous. Each party is looking at a different side of the shield. The expenditure of Federation is, as has been explained, partly on the "transferred services" and partly on matters which are purely Federal, which are called "other expenditure." The total expenditure of the Commonwealth is large on account of the cost of running and keeping up the transferred departments; but Parliament is penurious in dealing with Federal services.

The spirit which carried to success the Federal movement—"Australia for the Australians"—soon found expression in legislation.

Two features strike the English observer of Australian politics—first, the reliance on the State; secondly, the apparent recklessness of the legislation. The former is explicable by the history of Australia, and the second is largely the result of a misunderstanding. In order to understand the legislation in detail, some general observations are necessary.

**Australia and America Contrasted**

Few contrasts in history are more striking than the differences between the development of the two British democracies which margin the Pacific—that of Australia and that of the United States. Localism and individualism are the breath of life in the policy of the United States. Australia from the first has regarded the

citizen rather than the individual, and has known no dread of Government action.

The differences between the two countries is in their origin. The United States sprang from the town meeting; Australia, from the first, was centralised. The Government was an earthly providence from the beginning—dispensing food, controlling industries, and fixing the rate of wages. Nor did the influx of free settlers materially change the situation, because these spread themselves too quickly over the vast area of waste land to acquire that sentiment of localism which became instinctive in the concentrated settlements of New England. There came, indeed, to be a strong provincial jealousy between the several colonies which has even defied Federation. But this was never incompatible with a very wide exercise of the functions of government within each colony. In no part of the world has the doctrine of "Laisser faire" fewer adherents. The "administrative nihilism" (to use Professor Huxley's phrase) which would confine the action of a Government to preserving order would have seemed treason to the busy settlers, who depended upon the Government to overcome the natural obstacles to settlement and provide those conveniences of civilisation which, in such a country, individuals would be powerless to obtain unaided.

**Functions of the Government**

Thus, in Australia, the Governments of the several states construct and own railways, tramways, and ferry-boats. They do their own printing, and make clothes for the police and military. They maintain agricultural farms, own and let out bulls and stallions, supply seed-wheat, sell frozen meat and dairy produce, export wines, and maintain cellars for its storage in London, provide hospitals and parks, subsidise agricultural shows and other forms of popular amusement, run mining batteries and grant aid to prospectors, send commercial agents to foreign countries, undertake the storage and shipment of meat and butter for export, and generally endeavour in every way to improve the means of communication and transport, and to aid in the development of the resources of the country. The Government, indeed, is expected to take the risk of testing new processes of production, and a Government department is always at hand to supply any citizen, without charge, with the latest results of agricultural or industrial experiments in other countries. In no country does a settler on the land find more ready or abundant assistance from the organised power of the State.

This tendency to rely upon the Government has been strengthened by the collectivism of the Labour Party, who hold the faith that laws can regulate industries, and that the mere removal of social inequalities does little good unless the weaker are protected by law against the tyranny of the strong. To the Australian Labour Party, "private enterprise," "freedom of contract," "the law of supply and demand," and the other shibboleths of individual economics, are merely other expressions for "individual anarchy." Yet Australians are not lacking in enterprise. They take certain things from the Government as a matter of right—on the northern rivers of New South Wales the settlers have from the Government boats in which to save their own lives and property in time of flood—but they are certainly not remiss in the pursuit of their individual interests. At the worst there is a certain lack of public spirit and an unwillingness to give personal service to the state. This, however, is characteristic of any country whose leisured class has no traditional responsibility, and where the greater part of the community is occupied in the absorbing conquest of new lands. It was not until 1906 that New South Wales was given even a meagre form of local self-government.

**The Labour Party**

Australians thus have swallowed all economic formulæ, and, Socialists without a creed, are pressing into their service every social instrument and agency. The contrast with the United States is startling. Indeed, the motto of the Labour Party might be "To make Australia everything America is not"—so strenuously is it striving to protect Australia against the rule of wealth, and to practise the lessons which have been taught by the recent disclosures of social anarchy in the United States.

**Fight against the Rule of Wealth**

In considering the charge brought against Australian legislators of being reckless, it must also be remembered that Australia is the Cinderella of modern nations, whom Democracy has just claimed

for her own. It is a land of political faith and ideals, where the dreams of the study are soon translated into laws. Every adult has a vote; nowhere is there more unity of purpose, or freedom from distracting cares. Thus, whatever Democracy can accomplish will be accomplished in Australia, for good or ill; and its qualities are soon determined in such a testing ground of politics. At present, all goes well. Material prosperity, the buoyancy of youth, the novelty of political power, combine to dissipate misgivings; and the day of disillusionment—if it should ever come—is still far distant. But, as yet, other countries hardly understand; and even in England there is jealousy and some suspicion of the bold, new ways. The capitalist class is timid, and others are doubtful. But no Act has yet been passed which in any way threatens property or which disregards the larger interests of the Empire.

**The Coming Triumph of Democracy**

The Labour Party, indeed, is neither Anarchist nor Socialist. Socialists, indeed, run candidates against nominees of the caucus. It is composed of level-headed men, representatives of trade-unions and the more intelligent labourers. Its members are, however, not confined to the artisan or labouring class, but are recruited from the majority of farmers and by a number of the younger professional men and clerks. It is supported because it is the only party with clear principles which have never been abandoned; and its leaders command the respect of all classes of the community. The Australian Labour Party is, indeed, on most essential points, opposed to the principles of the same party in England. The Australian labour men think so well of their country, and are so convinced that a country which is worth living in is worth fighting for, that they are pressing for universal military service. And instead of being indifferent to the Empire, they are eager to strengthen it, because they know by experience that, on the whole, British rule makes for justice and freedom. But the apologia for Australian legislation should now come to detail.

**Aims of Labour Party**

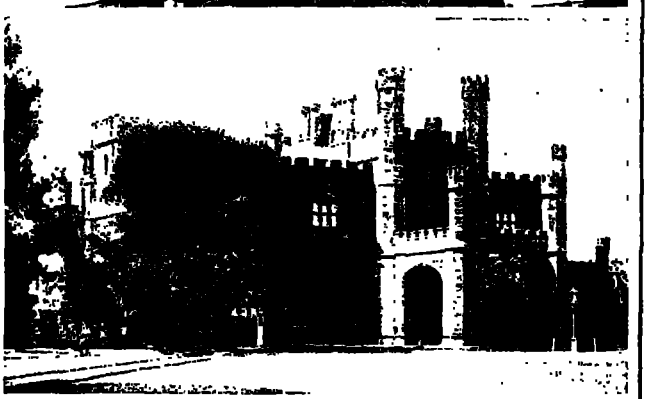
The chief misapprehension exists upon the question of a "White" Australia. One of the first Acts of the Commonwealth Parliament, to whom the control of immigration is given by the Constitution, was a measure which was intended to exclude the coloured races from Australia.

The ideal of a "White" Australia is held with passionate conviction by the vast majority of the Australian-born, who believe it to be a duty which they owe to civilisation to preserve Australia for the white races. The Parliament desired to enact the direct exclusion of coloured aliens; but the Colonial Office would permit this result to be effected only indirectly, by the use of a language test—i.e., the writing from dictation of fifty words in any European language. This provision exists in the law of Natal, where it is used for the same purpose, and Canada has an Act of equal stringency. The Australian Act also prohibited the importation of labour under contracts made abroad, partly in order to protect the intending emigrant from being trapped into improvident contracts, from ignorance of Australian conditions, and partly to prevent the importation of "strike-breakers" in the event of a labour dispute. This law has been wickedly misrepresented by the provincialists, who detest the Commonwealth, and others who are interested in diverting the stream of immigration to other places than Australia. Harrowing tales have been told and believed of "Six Hatters" who have been prevented from landing in Australia by the greedy desire of the Labour Party to avoid competition. Without exception, all these tales are false. *No single white man or woman has ever been prevented from landing in Australia since the law has been passed.* Its provisions have been applied only to the objects for which they were intended—viz., the exclusion of coloured alien labourers; and during the tenure of office of the Labour Party permission was freely granted to any respectable coloured merchant, student, or traveller, who obtained a passport from his Government, to enter and travel in Australia. In 1905 the text of the section dealing with contract labour was altered so as to remove the possibility of any honest misapprehension, by expressing in clear terms the kind of contracts which were aimed at. It was inevitable, by the Constitution of the Commonwealth, that a sufficient revenue must be raised through the Customs House at least to equal the

**Laws to Regulate Labour**







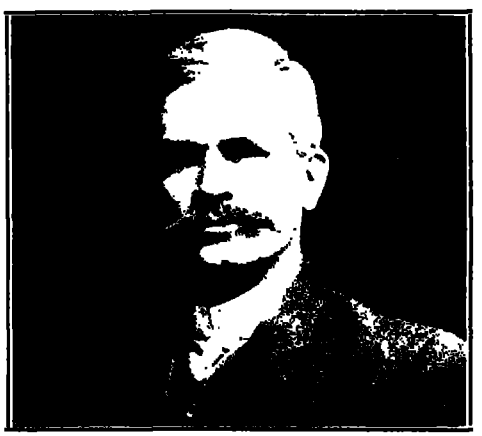


1. General view of Brisbane. 2. Government House, Sydney. 3. General view of Sydney.

## BRISBANE AND SYDNEY IN OUR OWN TIME

Photos Edwards and E. N. A.

proceeds of the tariffs of the federating states. Two of these, Victoria and South Australia, had already protective tariffs. It was obvious that the Federal Tariff could not destroy industries already protected. There was, however, a strong Free Trade feeling in New South Wales—existing chiefly, it must be admitted, among those classes who were protected by items in the so-called Free Trade Tariff of that colony, that a compromise tariff was passed after two years' struggle. In effect, this was a low protective tariff. It was not, however, high enough to prevent importers' rings from dropping the prices of imported articles to cut-rates, which would stifle any infant industry. This was particularly noticeable in the case of agricultural machinery, and at the next General Election an overwhelming majority was cast in favour of a higher tariff.



RIGHT HON. ANDREW FISHER,
Premier Australian Commonwealth, 1910

The new tariff contained concessions in favour of Great Britain, although, of course, it had been framed mainly in the interests of Australia, because experience proved that there would be no immigration unless the immigrants could find industries to work at. Even the low tariff of the first Parliament caused some half-dozen large English and American firms to produce in Australia the goods which were formerly imported, and thus provide new employment for Australian workmen. In those industries, however, which cannot yet be established in Australia the new tariff gave to Great Britain a preference of from 5 to 10 per cent. Altogether the subsidy to Great Britain was officially estimated to be at least £1,250,000.

Two measures must be mentioned as completing the tariff policy of the Commonwealth. The first was designed to prevent the importation of "dumped" goods, and of goods which are made by trusts — the principle being to prohibit the import of competing goods which are not made under similar conditions as to wages, etc., as in Australia. The Minister for Customs has power to seize any goods at the Custom House suspected of infringing this law, and the burden of proving the contrary is thrown on the importer. The Commonwealth was recently engaged in a contest with an American agricultural implement trust, alleged to be an offshoot of the Standard Oil Company, with reference to the importation of harvesting machines, which were dropped 50 per cent. in price immediately upon the introduction of the tariff.

The second measure connected with the tariff policy is designed to prevent the benefit of protection going wholly to the manufacturers, and to require a just division of the profits. On proof that any protected manufacturer is making exceptional profits by means of a monopoly created in his favour by the tariff, an excise duty may be imposed upon his products, of such amount as will prevent the tariff from unduly raising prices. Such a person would be required, in the first instance, to work his factory according to highest industrial standards.

It is premature to judge of the effect of laws which have been so short a time in operation; but it may be questioned whether these are not too complicated to prove effective. Nevertheless, they are a notable attempt to escape from the possible evils of a protective system.

It should be mentioned that tribunals exist in all the states for the purpose of determining rates of wages and other industrial conditions. The process in New South Wales is for an Industrial Court, presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court, who is assisted by elected representatives of employers and employed. The essential feature of the Act is that it deals only with organised labour, whether this be a trade union or an industrial union specially organised under the Act. Thus, only a union can bring a complaint before

a Court, and the collective funds of the union are a security for obedience to an award. The Act has worked with great success, although, unfortunately, it has become a battle sign of political partisanship. Passed by the Progressive Party, it has incurred the bitter hostility of the party calling itself Liberal, whose representatives during the last three years have put every obstacle in the way of its successful working, and are now proposing to substitute for it the Victoria system of Wages Boards.

During its first five years' currency, the Act stopped sweating in the clothing trade, and every important trade, in all about 110, is working under it. During the whole of this period there were no industrial disturbances, and no strike, until the ill-organised union of wharf labourers went on strike in the year 1907. For, as the author of the Act has repeatedly said, "it could not always prevent strikes, any more than diplomacy could always prevent war." There has been no instance of a union disobeying the award of a Court, and after an award has been made, no employer has come before the Court to complain of its working. The Act was modelled upon that which has been so successful in the Dominion of New Zealand. The Wages Board serves the purpose in Victoria of an Industrial Court. Its weakness is its inability effectively to enforce the penalties against individual workmen. Also, there is a want of harmony between the several awards. The wages of one trade may be fixed without regard to any dependent industry. For each trade has its own Board, consisting of an equal number of employers and employed presided over by an elected chairman, or, in default of an election, appointed by the Government. The Boards can take evidence, and make awards; but, not being permanent bodies, they have no power to enforce penalties, and there is reason to believe that the evasion of awards is frequent. To remedy these weaknesses, Victoria has now established an Industrial Court, to serve as a court of appeal from the Boards, and to enforce penalties. Such a Court is inevitably compelled to assume gradually the powers of the Industrial Court which New South Wales has now abandoned. For, it is impossible to deal with an appeal from the Wages Board of any trade without, in effect, regulating all the industrial conditions of the trade in question, and incidentally affecting others. The success or failure of any Wages Board has been found by experience to depend entirely on the good sense and capacity of its chairman. Passing now from politics and legislation,

**Laws that Regulate Wages**

something may be said about Australian life and its characteristics. The first thought of the incomer from the Old World, when once he has left the cities behind him, is that of limitless space. Boundless space, unlimited opportunities for human enterprise, with Nature waiting to be tamed by man's industry and ingenuity, to give a rich recompense in return—that is the first impression given by the hinterland of the cities.

**Conditions of Life in Australia**

This is not an impression of the eye only, but is strengthened a hundredfold by knowledge acquired concerning the mineral and agricultural wealth of Australia, and one soon learns that Australia can produce wheat crops of thirty bushels an acre, far surpassing the scanty yield of the Manitoban prairies, almost before he has left the first city with which he makes acquaintance. In that city, among the men whom he is sure to meet, he also will recognise the influence of life in boundless space. Inhabitants of a continent whose riches have so far been but slightly tapped, peculiarly blessed with climates of many varieties, from the tropical heat of Northern Queensland and of the northern part of South Australia, which is a geographical contradiction in terms, to the usually temperate but never frigid air of New South Wales and of Victoria, their hopes, their ambitions, and their confidence in themselves and in Australia, are as generous and as exhilarating as the air itself. Hence come two peculiarities, the first likely to puzzle and the second calculated in some measure to repel a new arrival. The first is a courage in matters of business and in setting forth upon grand undertakings apt to disconcert a man nurtured in less elastic surroundings. This is due not so much to the fact that the possibility of failure never presents itself to an Australian mind, or to a well-grounded belief that ultimate failure is out of the question. No real man can fail always in a country so bounteously endowed, and temporary failure does not depress a man

**Spirit of Industrial Enterprise**

when he knows that he can, and most likely will, rise to the surface again soon.

The courage of the Australian is elastic; his hopeful spirit will brook no denial. From this comes an arrogance of manner and tone which are, at first acquaintance, rather disconcerting to the English mind, and the English mind is rather too apt to counter it by a certain air of superciliousness. Such, at any rate, is the Australian impression generally; but it is a wrong impression, having, like most fallacies, a historical origin. In the past, far too many ne'er-do-wells of gentle birth were sent to Australia, nominally to seek their fortunes in a new land, really in order that their degradation might continue out of sight and out of hearing of their relatives. They were incompetent and really supercilious. The Australian of to-day is, therefore, naturally prone to suspect the fresh arrival from England of both these faults, and to meet him more than half-way by boastful proclamation of his own capacity.

**Mutual Suspicion and Regard**

What, apart from work, can sociable and vigorous men do in Australia? What is the manner of life, what are the social opportunities in the rural districts and in the cities? These are questions to which the answers are both general and particular. The great cities—especially Sydney and Melbourne—are at least as well furnished with the comforts of life and with the means of communciation as any in the world. Better than most, in this last respect, for the State undertakes the business and does it well. The hotels, judged from a cosmopolitan point of view, are fair; the clubs are as good as any clubs can be, and much more hospitable than those of any other country. There are first-class theatrical and musical entertainments, and French restaurants nearly equal to any out of Paris.

Society receives the visitor with a frank readiness, to which the Old World—to say nothing of the American world—is a complete stranger; and it is a society of keen wits working in the brains of eager men, and of lively, attractive, and sensible women. Does a globe-trotter desire to see cricket or to play it? He can see the very best to be seen on the face of the globe, and, if he be anywhere near its standard, he will be a welcome recruit. Nowhere will he see better horseracing, and should the newcomer be a yachtsman he will nowhere find better sailing than on the enclosed waters of Sydney's beautiful harbour. Hunting, in the English sense, can hardly be said to amount to much, but riding over the soft "bush" tracks is a glorious exercise, and a drive across country an exhilarating revelation to an Englishman.

**Australia the Home of Sport**

What shall be said of life in the "back-blocks"? That of the small and independent farmers, the "cockies," as they are called, is lonely to a degree. A typical story, which necessarily suffers by condensation, is told of two of these. A rides across, ten miles perhaps, to B, his nearest neighbour, and remarks: "Say, my horse is ill. What did you give yours when he was?" B (without looking up from his work): "Kerosene." A (next morning): "Say, I gave my horse kerosene, and he died." B (still engrossed in his work): "So did mine."

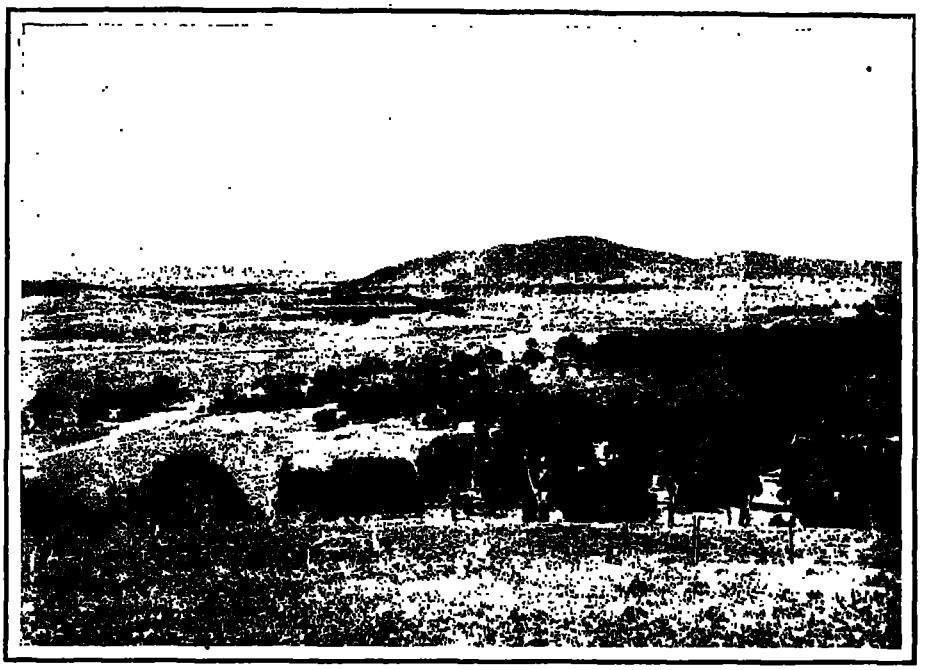
Boundary riders on the big stations have a dull life, too, seldom seeing another human being, except their fellow-workers, at breakfast-time. But for those who can enjoy a wholesome open-air life there are many compensations. Stock must be attended to, the more important parts being done by the pastoralist and his sons, but there is a fair amount of shooting for keen sportsmen; while joint picnics and dances, in the company of other pastoralists, serve to make the time pass pleasantly enough.

**Charms of Australia's Daughters**

In a land where distance daunts no one, visits to the towns are fairly frequent, and girls will come from the back-blocks who prove themselves as refined in thought, as cultivated in mind, as easy and graceful in carriage as any that the Old World produces. Remember, too, when you see those lissom figures gliding smoothly to strains of dance music at a Government House ball, that they can sit a horse to perfection, and that those slender hands can do hard and useful work, and have probably made the fashionable and becoming dresses they are wearing.

"Advance, Australia!" is a true watchword, for Australia has advanced, is advancing, and will advance, not merely in the confident eyes of her sons and daughters, but in deed and in truth. As Mr. Frank Bullen noted in his travels, "Australia is by far the richest of the Colonies, as Canada is the most astute."

BERNHARD R. WISE



Pictorial

YASS-CANBERRA, SITE OF THE NEW CAPITAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

# LATER EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

THE fortunes and reverses of political parties in the Commonwealth Parliament have attracted considerable attention in Australia in recent years, and the relation of the Commonwealth to the States has afforded opportunities for a liberal amount of discussion. But no serious change in the Constitution seems to be desired, and none has been affected. With the firm and acceptable establishment of the Commonwealth, the sense of Imperial responsibility has deepened, and activity in military and naval defence is a conspicuous feature in modern Australian policy.

By the Australian Defence Acts of 1909 and 1910 military training was made compulsory for all male citizens between the ages of 12 and 26—in cadet corps from 12 to 18, and as citizen soldiers from 20 to 26. In 1913 the peace effective was 80,000 of all ranks, and the war establishment 127,000; and the estimated expenditure on the Army for 1912–13 was £3,089,000. Eighteen British officers, with Major-General G. M. Kirkpatrick, C.B., as Inspector-General of Military Forces, were serving in the Commonwealth in 1913.

The Australian Naval Defence Scheme makes the Commonwealth responsible for the construction and maintenance of a number of ships of war which form an Australian squadron of the Royal Navy. In time of peace this squadron is under the command of a Commonwealth officer, and in time of war it is an integral part of the Eastern Fleet of the Royal Navy. These ships of the Royal Australian Navy are known as "H.M.A.S.", and in 1913 they numbered 1 battle cruiser, 4 light cruisers, 3 destroyers, 2 torpedo-boats, and 2 gun-boats. Rear-Admiral George Edwin Patey, M.V.O., was in that year placed in command of the Australian Fleet, when the naval force passed from Imperial to Commonwealth authority. The advance in naval expenditure was the main cause of the increase of no less than £1,400,000 in the Defence Estimates in the Commonwealth Budget for 1913.

The population of Australia, though still small when the size of the continent is considered, has become larger in late years owing to the encouragement given to immigration. In 1907 it numbered 4,197,037, and in 1911, 4,455,005, while the number of immigrants in those four years amounted to 392,509.

# GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA

| | |
|---|---|
| 1601 | Alleged Discovery by the Portuguese |
| 1606 | Discovery by the Dutch |
| 1627 | Coast surveys by Dutch navigators |
| 1642 | Tasman's voyages in Australian waters |
| 1665 | The Dutch apply name of New Holland to Western Australia |
| 1686 | William Dampier lands in Australia |
| 1763-6 | Explorations of Willis and Cartaret |
| 1770 | Captain Cook lands at Botany Bay, and names the country New South Wales |
| 1788 | Phillip founds penal colony at Sydney |
| 1793 | First church erected in Australia. First free emigrant ship arrives at Sydney |
| 1798 | Bass and Flinders discover Bass's Straits |
| 1801-5 | Grant and Flinders survey coasts |
| 1804 | Colonel Collins tries to found settlement in Victoria, but leaves for Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania |
| 1808 | Governor Bligh deposed |
| 1809 | Governor Macquarie appointed |
| 1813-23 | Interior exploration by Wentworth, Lawson, and other travellers |
| 1829 | Province of Western Australia formed |
| 1828-31 | Exploration of South Australia by Sturt |
| 1831-6 | Expeditions of Sir T. Mitchell into East Australia |
| 1834 | Province of South Australia formed |
| 1835 | Edward Henty settles in Portland Bay, Victoria |
| 1836-7 | South Australia made into a colony. Eyre crosses from Adelaide to King George's Sound |
| 1837-9 | Founding of Melbourne. Captain Grey's explorations in North-West Australia |
| 1839 | Discovery of Gold at Bathurst. Transportation suspended. The colony of Victoria receives its name |
| 1840 | Exploration of Eastern Australia by Strzelecki, and of Western Australia by Eyre |
| 1842 | Industrial depression. Sydney incorporated as a city. First Constitution Act passed |
| 1843 | Western Australia explored by Landor and Lefroy |
| 1845 | Exploration of interior by Sturt |
| 1848-58 | Gregory and Mueller explore northern portion |
| 1849 | Agitation against revival of transportation |
| 1850 | Province of Victoria created |
| 1851 | Gold rushes after discovery of gold by Hargreaves |
| 1853 | Transportation stopped except in Western Australia |
| 1859 | Province of Queensland created |
| 1860 | Landells's expedition into interior |
| 1861 | Burke and Wills cross the continent and perish in the return journey |
| 1861-2 | The continent crossed from sea to sea by the expeditions of Stuart, McKinley and Landsborough |
| 1865 | Entire cessation of transportation to Australia decided upon |
| 1866 | Royal Society of New South Wales founded |
| 1867 | Exploration of South Australia by Cadell |
| 1869 | Duke of Edinburgh visits Australia |
| 1871 | Protest by Australian colonies regarding home interference in fiscal arrangements |
| 1882 | Morrison walks from Gulf of Carpentaria to Melbourne |
| 1883 | Melbourne and Sydney united by direct railway. British New Guinea founded by Queensland |
| 1884 | Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania agree to the principle of federation, which is opposed by New South Wales |
| 1885 | Exclusion of Chinese from Victoria. First despatch of Australian troops (to the Soudan) |
| 1887 | Chinese Restriction Bill passed in New South Wales |
| 1888 | Australian protest against Chinese immigration |
| 1890 | Melbourne Conference of State Premiers adopts federation motion. Great strikes begin |
| 1891 | Earl of Kintore, Governor of South Australia, travels overland to Port Darwin. Federal Council meets in Hobart, and Federal Constitution adopted |
| 1893 | Australian Bank crash. Australian Federation Conference |
| 1896 | The Horn scientific expedition to interior |
| 1897 | Great heat and drought. Commonwealth Bill passed in Victoria |
| 1899 | Australian Naval Conference at Melbourne |
| 1900 | Federal delegates received by Queen Victoria at Windsor, and Constitution Act receives Royal Assent. Old Age Pension Bill passed in Victoria |
| 1901 | Federation formally accomplished, with Lord Hopetoun Governor-General (January 1), and first Parliament meets (May 21). Visit of Duke and Duchess of York to open Parliament. Old Age Pensions in New South Wales |
| 1902 | Lord Hopetoun resigns and is succeeded by Lord Tennyson. Drought in Australia. Commonwealth Tariff Bill passed |
| 1903 | Lord Northcote succeeds Lord Tennyson as Governor-General. High Court established. Election of second Parliament, where strength of Labour Party increased |
| 1904 | Labour Arbitration Bill becomes law |
| 1905 | New Cabinet formed with Mr. Deakin as Prime Minister |
| 1906 | Importation of opium prohibited |
| 1907 | New Customs Tariff, giving preferential treatment to British goods. |
| 1910 | Compulsory military training for all male citizens. |

# IMPORTANCE OF THE PACIFIC

## THE ROMANCE AND ADVENTURE OF THE GREAT WORLD-OCEAN

## BEFORE MAGELLAN'S VOYAGES

IN considering the importance of the great world-ocean from the standpoint of universal history, nothing at the present day more forcibly arrests our attention than the phenomenon of the manifold relations which, through the intermediary of its various parts, are established between the inhabitants of different continents.

From north to south, from east to west, the paths in which the political, intellectual, and commercial life of humanity rolls majestically onward stretch in a dense network from continent to continent. What an immense expanse is presented here as compared with the ancient sphere of civilisation, or even with that of the days before Columbus, confined as this was to the countries around the Mediterranean and the seas which encircle Europe!

**Historical Rôle of the Pacific**

The Pacific Ocean has played a noticeable part in the course of human history. Of the three-quarters of the earth's surface which is covered by the ocean, it forms very nearly half. In conformity with its vast extent and its other natural and geographical features we find that the history of the Pacific Ocean bears the mark of grandeur, while, at the same time, owing to its distribution over such an enormous area, this history is lacking in intensity.

Professor Ratzel has aptly described the shape of the Pacific Ocean by calling attention to its widely-sundered margins, a distance of three or four times the length of the Atlantic separating its Asiatic from its American shores. Its wide opening on the south is occupied by Australia and Oceania, whereby the Pacific acquires its most peculiar features—namely, the presence of a third island continent in the Southern Hemisphere, and the richest island formation to be found anywhere on the earth. Both the narrowing in of the ocean toward the north, and the bridge of islands in the south, besides imparting a special character to its shape and surface, also form, in a primary degree, the paths along which the history of the Pacific pursues its course.

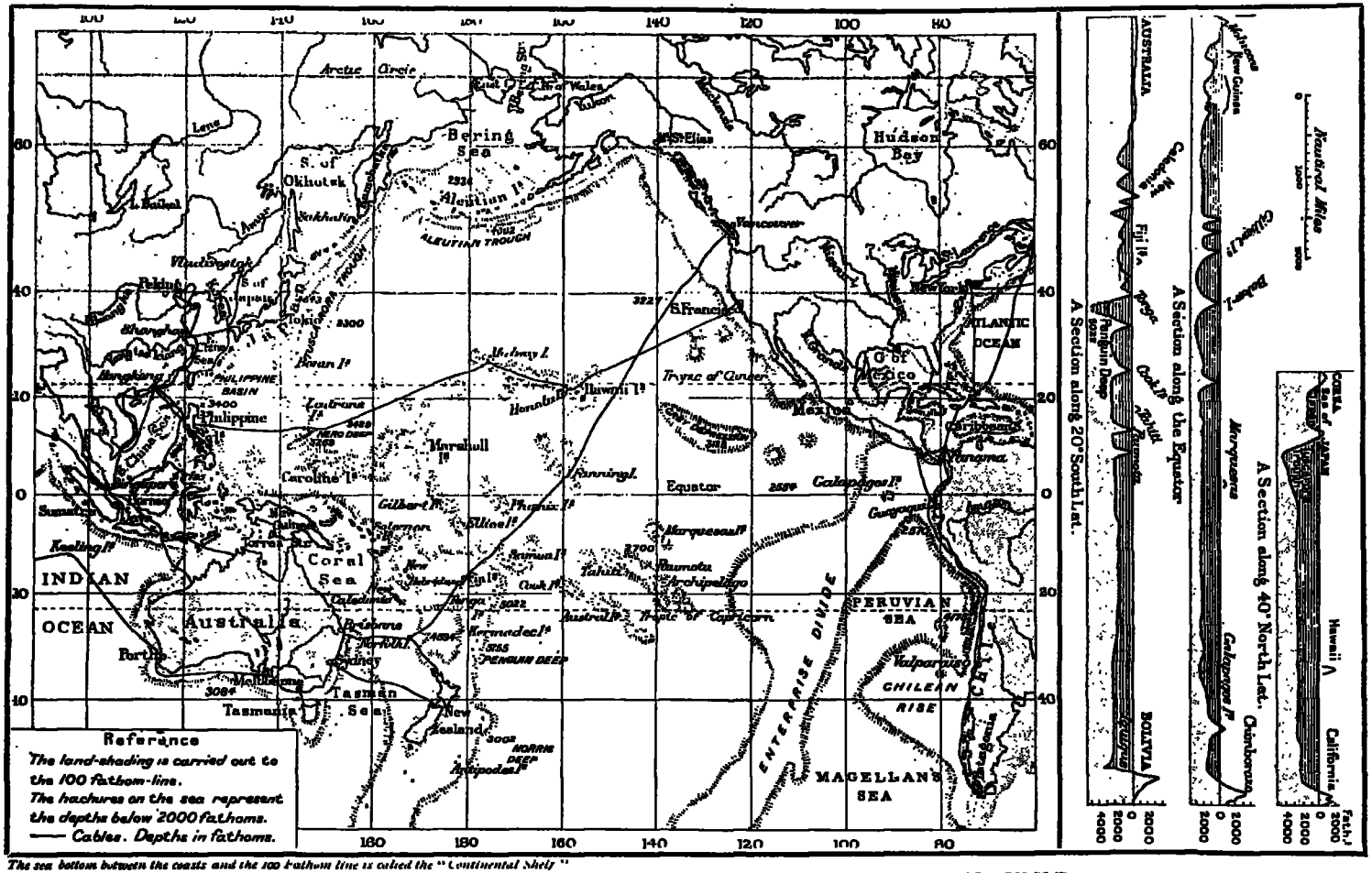
**Value of Bering Strait**

So far as our experience goes backward, we cannot discover that Bering Strait has ever been of greater importance historically than any other Arctic channel bordered by two inhabited shores. Leaving out of consideration the long but still time-limited occupation of Alaska by the Russians, Bering Sea has as a means of commercial intercourse never attained more than an insignificant importance.

Thus, in spite of its convenience, our beautiful bridge is left unused, because the masses for whose crossing it might serve are wanting. On the other hand, as we pass southward toward temperate and tropical climes and more habitable coasts, the dividing expanse of water widens out in measureless breadth, and the opposite shore recedes farther and farther alike from the material and the ideal horizon.

**Pacific Coast of America**

Nor is the conformation of the coast of the two great continents bordering the Pacific everywhere of such a kind as to attract their populations to the sea. This especially applies to America. From its farthest north to its southern extremity that continent throughout its whole length is traversed close to the Pacific coast by a steep and rugged mountain chain, forming an almost insurmountable barrier between the coast and the interior, interrupted by only a few rivers in the northern continent but entirely unbroken in the southern portion. The Pacific side, in fact, represents the backward side of America from the historical standpoint; the front of the continent is turned toward the Atlantic.




*The sea bottom between the coasts and the 100 fathom line is called the "Continental Shelf"*

**THE BED OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN SHOWING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF**

The western shore of the Pacific Ocean has a much more favourable aspect. Numerous large and powerful streams hasten toward it from the interior of Asia, thus intimately connecting the latter with the ocean. The surface of contact is still further increased by the series of island groups which, like a band, fringe the eastern shore of Asia and provide the first halting-place to its inland population on venturing forth upon the sea. Thus, while on the one side these island groups invite the inland dwellers out to sea, on the other they intercept the migrating populations on their outward course and retain them for prolonged periods.

According to the view of Darwin, which deserves the fullest consideration, the islands of Polynesia were not populated until a few centuries before their discovery by Europeans; on the other hand, the traditional, mythical history of Japan traces back the existence of the population of that country to periods so immeasurably remote as to surpass the boldest flights of our imagination. Now, though the millions of years to which the son of the distant empire proudly ventures to look back may not be able to stand the test of modern criticism, there is nevertheless usually a small grain of truth buried among the chaff of national vanity. At any rate this contradiction furnishes a kind of scale or measure for estimating the age of the history of the Pacific Ocean.

**Age of Pacific Peoples**

Historians have as yet failed to answer the question as to when Man first came to occupy the coasts of the Pacific. In all probability this important event occurred in prehistoric ages. It is equally impossible to determine what race of men, still less what particular people, first arose on the coasts of this ocean. From palæontological reasons there is some ground for assuming that America was originally peopled by immigration from without; such an immigration would most easily take place from Northern Asia, owing to the close proximity of that part of the Old World, and its effect would be the spreading of the Mongol type of population over America.

Whatever views may be entertained as to the usual division of the races of mankind, whether we recognise three or five or even more separate races, no one will any longer deny that the answer given to the question as to the origin of the human race is inclining more and more to the view of a primary unity of type from which an apparent plurality of type has arisen by differentiation. In this fashion, from a Mongoloid ancestral type common to the old Asiatic and the new American branches, the red American race may have been developed; while a remnant of the same primitive type may, under the specific influences of Asia, have produced the Mongol race. In a similar manner we may ascribe to the Indian Ocean the formation of the Malay race, although the Pacific Ocean also may have had a share in this, at least so far as the peculiar racial variety of the Polynesians is concerned. Finally, both oceans conjointly conveyed to the Australian continent, which was originally peopled by a Negroid race, immigrants of Malay and Polynesian descent, from the intermixture of which with the primitive inhabitants we get a new, sharply demarcated type—that of the Australian race. The latter next continues to spread eastward over a portion of the island-world of the Pacific Ocean, or Melanesia.

**Development of National Types**

Whether the Mongoloid type of the north-temperate or the Negroid type of the equatorial zone was the first to make its appearance on the shores of the Pacific Ocean must be left undecided. We know, at any rate, that in prehistoric times the margins of the Pacific, as well as its immeasurable island world, were still peopled by four distinct races, yellow, red, brown and black. Only the white race is absent. Through indefinite periods the destinies of these four principal types of the human race pursue their course side by side without definitely crossing or influencing each other. Each of them more or less pursues a separate, independent course of development within the limits of its own domain, because mutual contact is prevented by the immense expanse of the separating tracts of water. Their entrance, too, into the sphere of historic apprehension is marked by the widest differences. While the densely crowded populations of the Pacific coasts of Asia, pushing and being pushed onward in a continuous stream, have early arrived at a high state of culture and are therefore among the first to acquire historic importance, the isolated continent of America forms a world by itself, which for a long time

**Segregation of the Four Races**

appears wrapped in darkness and presents problems no less difficult to the historian than to the anthropologist. Even the key for the comprehension of undoubtedly historic characters has been irrecoverably lost. Hence America forms a very late addition, and one very difficult of comprehension, in the scheme of universal history. This remark applies still more forcibly to Australia, which, though less isolated, is still less favourable to human development, owing to its physical and climatic peculiarities. In spite of the fact that the sea renders them close neighbours to the progressive Malays, the Australian aborigines are content with playing a passive, merely receptive part.

Quite apart from anthropological and ethnographical reasons, we are more and more led to adopt the view according to which the gradual occupation of the island world of the Pacific Ocean by the human race could have proceeded originally only from the west. Thus, the sea first made its civilising influence felt in a direction from west to east. In subsequent times, however, after the white race, with its remarkable capacity for expansion, had gained the ascendency in America, this condition of things was changed. Those peculiarities of the Pacific Ocean which favour navigation in an opposite direction from that mentioned above were now brought into action, so that, since then the influence of the Pacific as a promoter of civilisation has proceeded in a direction from east to west.

**Occupation from West to East**

As regards the time when the gradual settlement of the Pacific island world had its beginning, Friedrich Müller assumes it to date back to about the year 1000 B.C. According to the views of later anthropologists this colonisation was not completed until a few centuries before the discovery of Polynesia by the white races, by whom the inhabitants of these islands were regarded as a race sharply distinct from the Malays. There is a sharp line of demarcation between the dark-skinned, frizzly or woolly-haired Melanesian and the lighter-coloured, yellowish-brown, sleek or curly-haired Polynesian or Micronesian. The only feature common to all is that, in spite of many intellectual endowments, they for the most part remained a people in a state of nature, who probably never dreamed of regarding themselves as one people, or conceived the notion of forming a state. The almost interminable subdivision and insular isolation of their separate racial divisions, the wholly tropical situation of their homes, in which the presence of the coco-palm, the bread-fruit tree, and an abundance of fish and shellfish entirely relieved them from the necessity of labouring for a living, a climate which makes little or no demand for houses or clothing—all these conditions could not do otherwise than generate a certain ease of living and absence of care which are impediments to the development of a higher civilisation, in the sense in which we conceive it in the case of a firmly-settled continental people. In spite of this, the Polynesians, though they knew nothing of iron, and were only slightly acquainted with other metals, display a remarkable ability, combined with artistic skill, in the manufacture of different implements, which capacity reaches its culminating point in the shipbuilding art. To this advanced condition of their seamanship we must finally trace back the expansion of the race over the whole immense breadth of the ocean.

**Why the Islanders Stagnated**

It is, in fact, in the form of these involuntary migrations of its inhabitants that the Pacific Ocean plays so important a part in this remote domain of the history of mankind. In opposition to the view which traces back the Polynesian race to the island world of South-Eastern Asia, William Ellis asserts with conviction that America was the point of departure of the population of the Pacific island world. He denies that it is possible for the Polynesians to have originated from the west, since the prevailing winds and currents tend in this direction, and, apart from this, because common ethnographic features between the Polynesians and the aboriginal inhabitants of America are by no means wanting. Now it is true that within a small area winds and currents often exercise a considerable influence; on the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean, however, they have long since ceased permanently to determine the distribution of mankind. On the contrary, we have actually a series of observations extending over several hundreds of years which lead to the conclusion that extended migrations, whether voluntary or otherwise, have on a large scale taken place in a direction

**Theories Caused by the Winds**

contrary to that of the prevailing winds and currents. At the same time we must constantly bear in mind that sudden unexpected storms are at least as efficacious in driving the most expert sailor out of his course as the constant regular currents of air and water which the skill of the navigator is capable of conquering. Important to the ethnologist as is this phenomenon—which in the course of thousands of years has extended a dense network from land to land—it is equally so to the history of Polynesia, which is entirely taken up by the mutual relations of different groups and the fusion of races which has resulted therefrom. In the majority of cases, probably, these unpremeditated voyages were the precursors of planned-out migrations, which, on the one hand, led to the permanent settlement of new islands, and on the other were followed by the establishment of colonies in districts long previously occupied. This series of later migrations and colonisations forms, as Ratzel justly points out, the sole fact which indicates the stage of civilisation reached by the Stone Age. On this account it cannot be easily understood, since it is impossible to compare it with other achievements of a similar character. The area which was thus brought within the sphere of colonisation many times exceeds the empire of Alexander the Great or of the Roman Emperors. In the sphere of territorial domination it represents the greatest achievement before the discovery of America.

**Storms that Peopled the Islands**

Intimately connected with the abundant intercourse of which the Pacific has been the scene from times immemorial stands the fact that nowhere has it supplied time or space for the development of an independent civilisation. Neither the immense island of New Guinea, with its thinly scattered, idle population, nor the still more remote New Zealand, has been capable of becoming the centre of a new civilisation, to say nothing of the other innumerable smaller islands. Only a few isolated elements within the domain of civilisation have under specially favourable circumstances been able to undergo an independent development. Apart from this the Pacific Ocean presents merely variations of one and the same fundamental theme. In this the absence of a real political formation or state structure is constantly repeated; it was only in the Hawaiian Islands that, at the time of their discovery by Europeans, three states existed, which afterward, under the native king Kamehameha, united into a single state. In all other cases the community or society, even when under monarchical sway, was limited to a single island, and hence remained quite insignificant in extent and influence. In all the larger islands, such as New Guinea and New Zealand, we fail to find even the slightest trace of a centralised political organisation.

**Lack of Independent Civilisations**

Hence there can scarcely be a question of a real history of Oceania before its discovery. Nevertheless we ought not on that account to speak of the Polynesians as a people without a history; for tradition plays no small part in their social life. They have also an idea of chronology, in which the Creation forms the basis or starting-point; in the absence of written signs they make use of notched sticks, the so-called "history-rods," as aids for remembering names and periods of time. As one might expect, these traditions sometimes go back to a very remote past. At Nukahiwa, in the Marquesas Archipelago, eighty-eight generations are said to have been established, which would mean a period of about twenty-five hundred years; at Baratongo the more modest number of thirty generations is claimed: and the Maoris of New Zealand limit themselves to twenty. On the other hand the Hawaiian king Kamehameha claimed a descent in direct line from a series of sixty-six generations of ancestors. Of course no real historical value can be attached to legends of this kind: but they nevertheless give evidence of a strongly-rooted feeling of autochthonous descent, which must have originated in a fairly long period of residence on the soil, and accordingly have been preceded by a certain degree of civilisation. Apart from this, according to generally accepted views, the civilisation of Polynesia had, at the time of its discovery, sunk to a very low level as compared with the development it had reached in earlier times.

**History from Island Legends**

To the question whether the conditions of national life in the Pacific were affected by influences emanating from the eastern shores of the American continent, it is difficult to give a decisive answer either

in the negative or in the affirmative. In the dissemination of the Mongoloid race over the continents of the Northern Hemisphere, America, according to the prevalent view, seems to have played the part of receiver—that is, the movement took place in a direction from Asia to America; while the view of a reflux current in the opposite direction can with difficulty be accepted. On the other hand, some of the island groups of the Pacific display so much analogy with the North-west of America in their flora and fauna, as well as in the ethnological characters of their population, that the idea of a casual connection between the two regions easily suggests itself; while, on the contrary, there is no lack of theories according to which the Polynesian population of the Pacific must be traced back to North America, or of others which, instead of a single former movement in one direction, assume several movements in either direction, and which, in Ratzel's words, "would substitute for the artificial theory of a former single migration and of a simple descent, the idea of a diffusion and stratification of the different races, *inter se*." However, no such influence on the part of America is discernible in historic times, and hence, from our standpoint, we are justified in regarding America as the passively receptive, not as the actively radiating or disseminating element.

**America and the South Sea Islands**

We have already pointed out the obstacles which stand in the way of the existence of any mutual relations between the west coast of America and the Pacific Ocean. Native American civilisation adopted a decidedly continental course, and did not take at all kindly to the sea, even in places where—as in that great Mediterranean Sea of America, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea—the natural conditions were most favourable to a seafaring life.

A comprehensive historical glance at the immense border regions of the Pacific Ocean enables us to recognise the beginning of a period in which its historical formative influence has for its basis, as it were, the human race itself—a period which may be described as the typically continental period. Both the border regions and the island areas are now occupied. All the energies of their inhabitants, however, are centred upon their own internal organisation and development, and there is an almost complete absence of mutual relations; even the knowledge of their existence in the case of widely-separated areas vanishes completely from the memory of man. Thus we see how the civilised nations of Eastern Asia gradually succumb politically, socially, and intellectually to a rigid paralysing formalism; how the States of America, soon discarding the sea, consume and speedily exhaust their energies in the struggle with a somewhat chary Nature; how finally they and the natural populations of Polynesia and Australia lose touch with the rest of mankind and relapse into the condition of isolated, degenerating units.

**Relapse into Isolation**

# THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN MODERN TIMES

THE first impulse to the enormous expansion of the white race through navigation undoubtedly originated from the Mediterranean. The prosperity which its seafaring nations derived from the profitable commerce of the East impelled the western Europeans of the Atlantic coast to emulate their example and to seek unknown sea roads to the Far East; for it was only by such roads that that region was accessible to Europeans. The idea of an overland route across the gigantic continent of Asia seems to have been allowed to drop; that it was not feasible had been amply demonstrated by many fruitless attempts dating from the time of Alexander the Great down to that of Frederic Barbarossa and Saint Louis. Moreover, Asia was still, at irregular intervals, pouring forth its devastating hordes toward the West, as in the Great Mongol invasion which as recently as the beginning of the eighteenth century was still surging in Eastern Europe.

**Early Maritime Adventure**

Of course, a small continent like Europe, with its comparatively small populations, could not cope by land with the enormous populations of Asia. Hence, since a road to the East had to be found somehow or other, it could be found only by sea.

The history of geographical discoveries does not fall within the scope of this work; it will therefore suffice to mention that the immediate object in the search for a direct sea-route from Western Europe to India was the rediscovery of the two countries Cathay and Zipangu, which had vanished from the intellectual horizon, but were thought to be, as it were, neighbours of India, their existence having been proved by Marco Polo. The later and wider aims were merely the gradual outcome of the enormous and quite unexpected extent of the original discoveries. In the natural order of things the first attempts, undertaken chiefly by the Portuguese, were made in an easterly direction; their most important result was the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, accomplished in 1486 by Bartolomeo Diaz. About the same time, however, the conception of the spherical shape of the earth, which was rapidly gaining ground, led to similar enterprises being undertaken in a westerly direction also.



VASCO DA GAMA
The first voyager to reach India by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope.

It was in the pursuit of such attempts that Christopher Columbus discovered the Bahamas and Antilles for Spain in 1492, and that John Cabot discovered the North American continent for England in 1494. Both discoverers imagined themselves to have really found what they had sought—the east coast of Asia, a belief in which they persisted to the end of their lives. Nor did Pedralvarez Cabral, who in 1500, while attempting to reach India by an eastern route, was driven by a western drift current to the coast of Brazil, recognise the importance of his discovery. He, in fact, believed he had found only an island of no special attraction, and, altering his course, made haste to return with all speed to the coast of Africa.

**A Great Portuguese Navigator**

For shortly before (1497–1498), Vasco da Gama had succeeded, by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, in reaching India, being the first European navigator who had done so, and in forming there connections of the utmost advantage to his native country, Portugal. Inspired by this success, so important in a practical sense, the Portuguese now turned their attention exclusively to the route discovered by Vasco da Gama.

**Spain Emulates Portugal**

On the other hand, the Spaniards, who on their side pursued further the road first mapped out by Columbus, soon became convinced that the countries discovered in the west could not be part of Asia. Driven by a passionate longing for the gold which had been found during the early explorations, they followed the westward-pointing track of the yellow metal, and soon obtained from the natives of Central America the knowledge of the existence of that "other sea" on the coasts of which gold was to be found in superabundance.

In the search for the precious metal, Nuñez de Balboa crossed the Cordilleras of the Isthmus of Panama, and was the first European who from their heights set eyes on the Pacific Ocean, which he did on September 25th, 1513. He applied to it the name of the "South Sea," and took possession of its coasts in the name of the King of Spain. This event forms an important landmark in history. Henceforth the newly discovered continental area was recognised as a portion of a large and independent continent. Further, the existence of the greatest ocean of the earth was made known and turned to advantage. The still existing civilised states of the New World were annihilated and extinguished almost at one blow, and the development of the human populations of the Western Hemisphere was thus turned into an entirely new channel. Finally, this discovery also led to a fundamental change in the political structure of the civilised states of the Western Hemisphere. The discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Europeans had a double immediate effect. First, it led to a definite general knowledge of the true shape and size of the earth—a knowledge which has had immense results in the domains of civilisation, commerce, and politics

Secondly it led up directly to the incredibly rapid conquest of the Pacific coasts by Spain. The lamentable helplessness with which the densely populated and civilised native states of Central and South America fell to pieces before the onslaught of a few hundreds of European adventurers, like the Aztec Empire of Mexico before the small band of Cortes, and the Empire of the Incas in Peru before Pizarro, remains one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. The discovery of an unexplored ocean separated from the Atlantic by the whole length of the American continent led to a series of zealous endeavours to find the connection between these two great masses of water. It was of importance to the Spaniards, first of all, who had been anticipated by the Portuguese in reaching India by the eastern route, not to be misled by the obstacle which had unexpectedly barred their course to the west. It was soon recognised that Central America, which had been the first portion of the continent they had become acquainted with, possessed no strait connecting the two oceans; hence the problem for solution was to find one elsewhere. In the hope of discovering such a passage farther south, voyages of exploration were made along the eastern coast of Brazil, and in 1515 Diaz de Solis advanced as far as the mouth of the La Plata, where, however, he met his death.



FIRST EUROPEAN TO SEE THE PACIFIC
The Spanish explorer, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, saw the Pacific Ocean on September 25, 1513, after crossing the Isthmus of Panama. He called it the South Sea, and took possession of its coasts for his native country, Spain.

In 1520 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, succeeded in discovering the strait called after his name, between the South American continent and Tierra del Fuego. Through this strait he entered the Pacific Ocean, in which he at once vigorously pursued his course. After a voyage of more than three months Magellan reached the Ladrones, and, later on, the Philippine Islands; and though he was not fated to enjoy the triumph of a successful return, he at all events is incontestably entitled to the distinction of being the first navigator and the first European who traversed the Pacific along its entire breadth. Magellan's companions continued the voyage after the death of their leader, and reached the Moluccas. Here, on the island of Tidor, they fell in with Portuguese who had previously arrived there by the opposite route, and who were not a little astonished to see white men arriving from the east. Here, then, two advance columns, which had set out from opposite directions, for the first time joined hands. It was here that the great girdle of knowledge which had been laid round the earth was made complete, and thus European energy and intelligence achieved in the course of some decades a result which the aboriginal inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean had never attained for as many thousands of years. Within a short time the whole Pacific and the Pacific coasts of America were discovered. California was reached even before the middle of the sixteenth century, and as early as 1527 a regular navigation route was established between the coasts of Mexico and the far distant Moluccas.

In the meantime the Portuguese also had advanced farther eastward from the Indian Ocean. This advance, however, was of a quite different character from the conquest of America by the Spaniards. The Portuguese did not make their appearance in India as "conquistadores"; in fact, to do so would have scarcely been possible when we take into account the much more ancient and advanced civilisation of that country, its well-established political system, and the greater density



NUNEZ DE BALBOA FIGHTING HIS WAY TO THE CORDILLERAS

and numbers of its population. They accordingly did not indulge the ambition of subjecting the newly-discovered territories and adding them as provinces to their own small and remote kingdom, but contented themselves with establishing trading-stations on the coasts and with acquiring and fortifying for the protection of the latter several points on the coast, as well as maintaining in constant readiness a capable fleet of warships. In other respects the sphere of Portuguese colonisation falls chiefly within the region of the Indian Ocean. The latter, however, served, after all, merely as a first step towards its greater neighbour, inasmuch as the Portuguese extended their explorations from the Indian Ocean more and more towards the East as far as the coasts of China, where they founded settlements, and to Japan, which they reached by accident in 1543.

**Policy of the Portuguese**

For exactly one hundred years Japan was opened up to the outer world, a period forming but a small fraction in the history of the island empire, but one which was fraught with important consequences in the grouping and position of the European sea Powers. About the middle of the sixteenth century Japan began eagerly and zealously to open its gates to Western civilisation and the teaching of Christianity: for three generations, however, it was the unwilling spectator of a jealous rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch, who had arrived in the country in the year 1600—a contest rendered the more discreditable by the unscrupulous choice of the weapons with which it was carried on. This state of things the Japanese finally decided to terminate by what seemed to them the only possible solution—namely, by simply shutting their door in the face of the unruly strangers. By this step, which, indeed, is quite at variance with the character of its people, Japan for more than two centuries disappears completely from history, and ceases to exercise any influence whatever on the development of affairs on and upon the Pacific Ocean.

**The Closed Door of Japan**

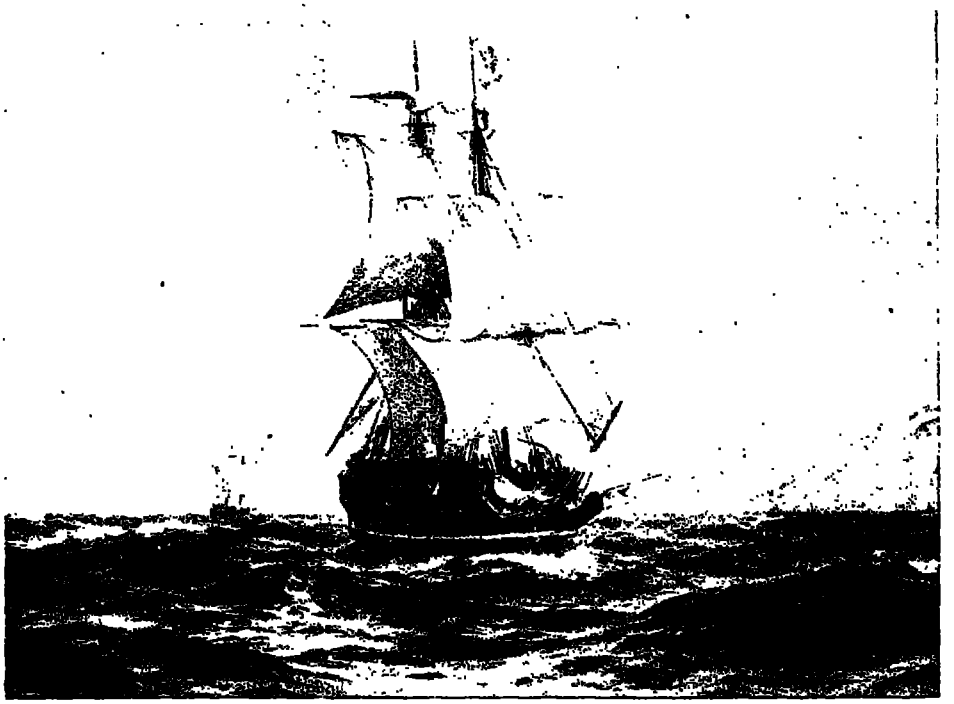
It is a remarkable phenomenon that the immense increase in power and wealth which the era of geographical discovery brought to Europeans fell much less to the share of the real discoverers than to others. The discoveries made between 1486 and the middle of the sixteenth century, with the sole exception of those of the two Cabots, were placed entirely to the political account of Spain and Portugal. Both these kingdoms suddenly came into possession of immense territories from which they drew undreamed-of wealth and treasure. The populations of these territories—at least of those in America—became the pliant and feeble tools of their conquerors.

The real fruits of geographical discovery were to fall into the hands of those who had participated in the competition, not with precipitate haste and with the sole object of enriching themselves suddenly and without effort, but with far-seeing deliberation and with silent but untiring efforts—the Dutch and the English. The Dutch, a small people, subject to the powerful monarchy of Spain, had boldly risen against their political and religious oppressors, and, in spite of the enormous disproportion between their own resources and those of the suzerain Power, and chiefly on account of their excellence in seamanship, had carried out a successful resistance. They in part transferred the seat of war across the Indian Ocean, established themselves in the Spanish-Portuguese possessions, destroyed Portuguese influence in important localities, as they had done since 1600 in Japan, and gradually succeeded in getting the trade of India almost entirely into their own hands. But the activity of the English assumed still grander proportions.

**Dutch Competition with Spain**

At the time of the discovery of America, England had lost all her Continental dominions with the exception of Calais, and found herself restricted to her island possessions. Even her dominion over Ireland had at that time almost slipped from her grasp, and Scotland formed an independent kingdom. England possessed no territories outside of Europe, and she had fallen from her high rank as a great European Power, while outside of Europe her influence was virtually nil. It was at this time that the discoveries of the sea route to India and of America first turned the attention of this healthy and energetic people towards lands far distant; and the prudent sovereigns of the then reigning House of Tudor kept the eyes of their subjects fixed in this direction.

The inborn love of this island nation for maritime adventure then, as if by magic,



MAGELLAN'S SHIPS PASSING THROUGH THE STRAITS THAT NOW BEAR HIS NAME
From the painting by J. Fraser, by permission of Mr. A. H. E. Wood.

suddenly blossomed forth in luxuriant growth and drove its people with irresistible force across the sea. It was not, however, merely for the quest of gold, as had been the case with Spain, that England entered upon the career of territorial exploration and colonisation; nor, like the Portuguese, with the object of making the profitable trade in spices a monopoly in their own hands, but with a nobler, more far-seeing purpose in which the overthrow of the newly-found native populations and civilisations formed no part.

**England Enters the Competition**

Thus, from the moment when the existence of the Pacific Ocean was ascertained, it engaged the attention of the English. They quietly allowed the Spaniards and Portuguese to push forward their discoveries and conquests in the East and West Indies without, for the time being, entering into competition with them. On the other hand, they concentrated their efforts upon finding a route into the Pacific Ocean unknown to the Spaniards and Portuguese, but available for themselves, establishing themselves in this route, and in this way spreading and developing their rule in, as it were, the opposite direction.

The efforts of the English found a visible expression in the search for the North-west Passage, which was pursued with an iron persistency, and has proved of the utmost importance in history. That the newly-discovered continent in the north was bounded by the sea, like that in the south, appeared beyond question.

Accordingly, it was thought that there must exist a northern route leading from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean. Such a passage being situated nearer to England than any other, the problem was to find it. Though the attempts made in this direction did not at once lead to the expected result—nor, indeed, did they produce any result of practical value later on—they were nevertheless accompanied by effects of extraordinary significance. They acquired importance not only in a geographical sense, by leading to a true comprehension of the nature of the earth, but also in

**The North-west Passage**

a political direction; for as a result of numerous enterprises the northern part of the American continent passed into the possession of England, which made much better use of it than the Spaniards had done of its central and southern portions.

The first reports of the success of Columbus had, as early as 1494, instigated John Cabot, a Portuguese in the English service, as well as his son Sebastian, to undertake a voyage by which even at that time they hoped to reach the land of Cathay, or China, and the Spice Islands by the shortest route—that is, by a north-west passage. In the course of this voyage, however, they discovered the northern coast of the North American continent, and took possession of it in the name of England. In a second voyage, undertaken in 1497, they enlarged the discoveries of their first expedition, and the same result was attained by a third voyage made by Sebastian Cabot alone in 1498. The actual search for the much-longed-for North-west Passage was not, however, begun until the year 1517, when the younger Cabot discovered Hudson Bay, and very probably penetrated into Davis Strait and within the Arctic Circle.




THOMAS CAVENDISH
English navigator who spoiled the Spaniards and sailed round the world in 1586-88

**Voyages of the Cabots**

The first attempt towards the solution of the problem was, however, soon forgotten in the beginning of the Reformation, which absorbed the entire attention of the English people. It was not until after the death, in 1547, of the Royal theologian, Henry VIII., that the transoceanic movement was once more revived, and attracted a much more general and lively interest than on the first occasion. Its special feature lay in the fact that the movement proceeded not so much from the State as from individuals and corporations, and that, although it was favoured and supported by the Government, it was neither initiated nor directed thereby; indeed, up to the time of Henry VIII. (1509–47) a Royal Navy had not even existed. A few wealthy and influential and private individuals and merchant guilds fitted out, at their own cost, whole fleets which, according to circumstances, engaged in commerce or made voyages of exploration, or, on their own responsibility, sailed in quest of warlike adventures, which in many instances had a strong savour of piracy.

At the beginning of this new period an expedition left England mainly for purposes of exploration, but with an object diametrically the opposite of the voyages which had been set on foot at the beginning of the century for the discovery of the North-west Passage; for it was now proposed to discover the nearest route to China in an easterly direction and along the north coasts of Europe, or, in other words, to find a north-east passage, which, it was hoped by the English commercial world of that time, would lead to a fresh development of their trade, then in a very depressed condition. On May 10th, 1553, Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed from London with this object; but neither his expedition nor those of later English navigators were successful in this sphere of exploration, in which they had to yield the palm to the more fortunate Dutch and Russians.

Hence English explorers once more turned their attention to the North-west Passage. Frobisher's voyage of discovery in 1576 was followed by a large number of others, such as those of Davis, Hudson, Bylot, Baffin, and others. Although from natural causes these expeditions did not obtain the desired object, they nevertheless proved of infinite importance in considerably advancing the colonisation of North America, of which the beginnings had been attempted by Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh in 1583 and 1584. This was not a colonisation after the fashion of Spanish conquistadores or Portuguese spice-merchants, but a slow, gradual, tranquil, and thoughtful immigration of industrious, energetic Northern Europeans, who did not go with the sole aim of rapidly gaining treasures, but in order to find a livelihood founded on enduring and arduous labour; who,

**The Work of English Explorers**

while wresting the virgin soil from its native hunting population and bringing it under cultivation, became intimately attached to it, and thus laid the firm foundation of a political system, which grew with surprising rapidity and was full of the hardiest energy. Simultaneously with the bold explorers of North America a number of naval heroes left England in search of adventures, whose main object, however, was to inflict the greatest possible damage on the Spaniards, who were detested on account of political and religious antagonism, and thereby also to enrich themselves. Besides such names as Hawkins, Raleigh, and Cavendish, that of Francis Drake shines forth with special lustre. Drake combined the hero with the explorer. So great was his boldness that he was no longer satisfied with attacking the Atlantic possessions of Spain; indeed, the West India islands and the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico had been already so much harassed by the English corsairs that the Spaniards in these possessions now kept a good look-out. On the coasts of Chili and Peru, on the other hand, they considered themselves perfectly secure and unassailable. Relying on their sense of security and consequent unguardedness, Drake, who was morally and materially supported by the Queen, at the end of 1577 left England with five ships, well equipped by himself, sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and, without encountering any resistance, began a private war against the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean. He was entirely successful, and set out on his homeward voyage richly laden with spoil. He tried to turn the voyage to account by searching for the North-West Passage from the Pacific Ocean—that is, in the reverse direction. However, after sailing along the West Coast of America up to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude without finding a sign of the desired passage, he decided on the voyage across the ocean, and returned to England, after having touched at the Moluccas and sailed around the Cape of Good Hope.

**Excursions Against the Spaniards**

**Memorable Voyages of Drake**

Drake's circumnavigation of the world, which had more or less the character of a warlike expedition, marks the first conscious and deliberate step on the part of En nd towards a policy of universal expansion and the sovereignty of the seas, a policy the surprising results of which not only produced a great change in the distribution of power in Europe, but also subsequently, and in a manner entirely unpremeditated, brought into the foreground a new and important factor in international life—America.

In this way, moreover, was laid the foundation of the predominance of the white race over the whole globe. For the Pacific Ocean and its place in history generally, Drake's voyage had a special significance; for by it, at one stroke, as it were, that ocean became the centre of public interest and the scene of the struggle for the sovereignty of the seas.

Here was displayed for the first time in a striking manner the internal hollowness and weakness of the apparently gigantic strength of Spanish dominion; for, as seems only natural, numerous other piratical enterprises, not only English, but also Dutch, followed in Drake's successful track, and all of them, with more or less impunity, managed to harass and plunder the Spanish possessions and Spanish ships in the Pacific Ocean. True, the maritime war between England and Spain was not finally decided in European waters until 1588 (the destruction of the Armada), but we may safely assert that the issue was prepared by the events which took place in the Pacific Ocean, and that it was here that England found the key to her maritime supremacy.

**England's Maritime Supremacy**

About the year 1600 the third continent washed by the Pacific Ocean—Australia—also began to rise from the mist which had hitherto enveloped it. Its discovery, however, at first attracted but little notice, and had no immediate practical results. This was due to several causes: the natural features of the country were not very inviting, the climate was not favourable, and its native population was scanty and in a low grade of development. There was further a dearth of all desirable productions, and the coasts of the continent were difficult of access owing to the presence of barrier reefs. Meanwhile, Britain had lost her American colonies, which now enter upon the stage of history as an independent political entity under the name of the United States of America; and besides this she was under the necessity of maintaining the deportation of

criminals, who had formerly been sent to the American continent. She was thus obliged, in the year 1788, nearly two hundred years after its discovery, to take possession of the Australian continent in earnest.

This enforced settlement had, however, to yield to one of a voluntary character as soon as the real value of the formerly despised country became known. Immigrants, after a time, poured into the country and furnished ample proof that in Australia Britain had obtained an acquisition of extraordinary value. Owing to the fact that the new immigrants were almost exclusively of British nation-



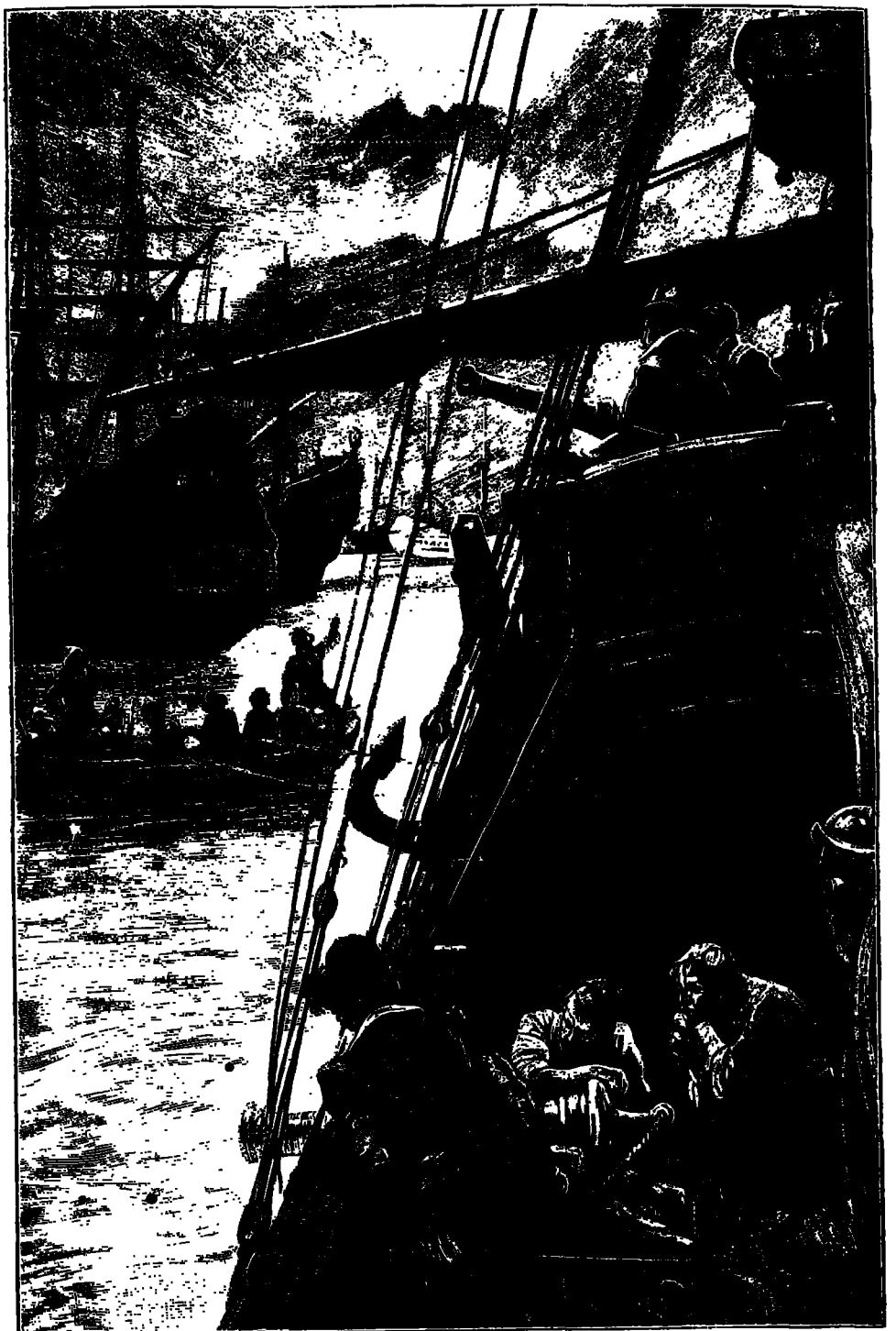
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
The first Englishman to sail the waters of the Pacific. His momentous work and the example he set laid the foundations of Great Britain's colonial empire.

ality, the continent acquired a homogeneous population, and Britain a colony which kept up very close ties with the mother country. Especially were those elements wanting which had driven the Americans into a political—indeed, almost national—opposition to Britain. Accordingly the population of Australia had made this youngest of continents into a second antipodean edition of "Old England," a daughterland which furthers the policy of "Rule, Britannia" on the Pacific Ocean with no less pride than her great prototype at home. In the colonisation of Australia its native aboriginal population is even of less import than the Indians of North America; politically it is of no account whatever, its scanty remnants having been forced back into the inhospitable interior parts of the continent. The acquisition of the Pacific Ocean by England, which was begun since Cook's discoveries, has not stopped at the Australian continent, but has been extended to numerous parts of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. It is a remarkable fact that in their numerous voyages from the Mexican harbours to the Moluccas and Philippines, and, since 1565, in the opposite direction also, the Spaniards discovered so very few of the innumerable island groups which stud the intervening seas. Even the few of the archipelagoes they did discover—the Marshall, Bonin, Solomon, and Paumotu Islands, and others—were not considered by them worth acquisition or colonisation; only the Mariana, Caroline, and Pelew groups were in course of time taken possession of or laid claim to in order to serve as points of support for their colonies in the Philippines. The Portuguese and Dutch took still less interest in the acquisition of territory in the Pacific; they left that ocean entirely out of the sphere of their commercial policy, and, in fact, formed no settlements in it at all. Thus it came about that during the voyages of the English and French in the latter third of the eighteenth century—those of Cook, Bougainville, La Pérouse, D'Entrecasteaux, and others—numerous island groups were discovered which were not yet occupied by Europeans, and were therefore ownerless or unclaimed territory. Of course, the crews of the ships composing these expeditions were not sufficiently numerous to spare any of their men for the permanent occupation of these islands; but they were soon followed by compatriots in the shape of adventurers, explorers, merchants, and missionaries.

**Britain's Pacific Acquisitions**

Rapidly the islands of the South Sea, about whose inhabitants, products, and climate the most favourable reports were spread abroad, became centres of attraction for immigrants. In this manner the white race, represented chiefly by Englishmen and Frenchmen, later also by North Americans and Germans, spread over the Island world of the Pacific Ocean. The English especially, who had just obtained a footing on the Australian continent, were

**White Men in South Sea Islands**



THE FIRST ENGLISH SHIP IN THE PACIFIC: DRAKE'S "GOLDEN HIND" AT CALLAO

in the vanguard of this movement. Besides settling in Tasmania and New Zealand, they also established themselves in Polynesia and Melanesia, and in the course of the present century have succeeded in acquiring a considerable portion of the Pacific island area. The French, too, have secured for themselves a considerable portion, more especially in the Polynesian groups, as well as New Caledonia. Later on, the North Americans also entered into the competition, and since 1885 the German Empire, by the adoption of a vigorous colonial policy, has also acquired possessions in Melanesia and Micronesia.

**The Powers in the South Seas**

Nor must we omit to mention here another European Power which, although it did not participate in the division of the Pacific island area, nevertheless, by a vigorous advance towards the ocean, early entered upon a path by which it gradually developed into one of the most powerful and determinant factors in modern history —namely, Russia. Recognising that its strength existed in its continental character, the mighty Slav Empire by degrees withdrew from the ocean; it sold Alaska and the Aleutian islands to America, and exchanged the Kuriles for the pseudo-island of Saghalin; but, on the other hand, it cleverly managed to extend its zone of contact with the ocean by a series of brilliant moves, vitally important to its own interests, towards the south. In the twentieth century that movement brought her into direct conflict with Japan, resulting in a set-back to the encroachments of the European Power, which still lacks effective command of a warm-water port. If and when she becomes secure mistress of such a position, her power on the Pacific will take a new aspect.

The occupation of the whole expanse of the Pacific by the white race requires, like the advance of Russia to the shores of that ocean, to be regarded from a higher vantage-ground. It is, in fact, more than a political event; it is a fact of the utmost importance in universal history, an energetic step forward on the road which seems to have for its final goal the reunification of the divided human race, an issue not to be controlled by and scarcely patent to human consciousness, but one which is regarded by many as inevitable. Nowhere on the earth has this levelling influence of the white race operated more energetically than in Oceania, but of course always at the expense of the aboriginal population.

**Ultimate Fusion of World Races**

In general, the Polynesians showed themselves very accessible to "white" influences; they approached the white immigrants sympathetically, and adopted with ease their manners and customs and their modes of life and thought; but in the acquisition of these foreign elements their own original structure became undermined. Wherever the influx of white elements is strong enough, mixed races are produced with greater rapidity, and in these the white influence is always the determinative factor. Thus in New Zealand the pure native Maoris are fast approaching extinction; and the Sandwich Islands are nothing more than an appendage of the North American Union. On the other hand, where this influx is not sufficient to produce a rapid anthropological transformation, the native element is injured by a mere superficial contact with European culture or by what we may rather call its shady side. Men who as naked savages have led a true amphibious life, half on land, half on sea, die off prematurely when turned into civilised Christians. The white race, though it forms the determinant factor, does not, however, stand alone in this filling up of the gaps of defunct Pacific populations. Side by side with it the yellow race is engaged in a similar task. Of course, the motives from which the Chinese set out in this process are fundamentally different from those of Europeans and North Americans, and consequently their effect, too, is widely different; nevertheless; to a certain extent at least, the latter has a similar tendency in both cases.

**Effect Upon the Natives**

It is neither love of adventure, lust for gain, nor political or scientific interests which drive the Chinaman to seek a home in foreign countries, but mainly the difficulty of obtaining a living in his own over-populated empire. According to natural laws the efflux of this surplus population takes place in the direction of least resistance; but since Japan, till very recently, was closed to foreigners, while both divisions of India were themselves suffering from over-population, and the large islands of the Indian Ocean were very soon satiated with Chinese, the stream of Chinese emigration overflowed to Australia, America, and the island



DRAKE'S FIRST SIGHT OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN

world which stretches between these two continents. These latter, owing to the great disproportion between their extent and population. seemed specially adapted for receiving it.

Nevertheless, even there, the "yellow" invasion has not met with a very welcome reception. Nor is this a matter for surprise. First, we have to deal with the apparently unbridgeable gulf which exists between the white and yellow races. Neither the white man nor the Chinaman considers himself as the one and absolute superior of the other—in the way, that is, that both look on themselves in relation to all other native races; but they recognise and fear each other as formidable rivals, without being able—owing to a total difference in mental outlook—to find some common ground of agreement. Fear without respect is the character of their mutual relations, combined with a repugnance reaching almost to disgust of the one nature toward the other, which prevents any direct intermixture of the two races, and consequently removes the most effectual means toward the levelling of racial differences. In addition to this the Chinaman is a dangerous industrial opponent to the white man, whom he excels as an indefatigable, unpretentious, and at the same time intelligent workman, thereby lowering the value of white labour and depreciating wages.

**The Yellow Invasion**

Accordingly the policy of Australia and America is directed toward the prevention of Chinese immigration by all possible means, as much from the subjective standpoint of justifiable self-defence as from an inborn instinct. We must not, however, shut our eyes to the fact that the Chinaman might put forward the same claims on his side—if he had the power. It is therefore with the white race a simple question of self-help in the hard struggle for existence. When we consider the profound differences of the forces brought into play in the contact of the spheres of expansion of the yellow and white races upon the Pacific Ocean, a final solution of this difficult

**The Side of the Chinaman**

problem must appear still very remote. On the other hand, it becomes more and more evident that the part which the island world shut in by the Pacific Ocean has played in the shaping of the history of the world is not yet concluded, but, on the contrary, is destined to produce even greater effects in the future. The island groups of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, in which new half-caste populations are being developed from the intermixture of white men and Polynesians, seem adapted for intercepting such part of the Chinese stream of emigration as is not mainly directed to the gold-fields of Australia and North America; and it is probable that, owing to the extensive subdivision which of necessity goes on in these localities, this portion may become absorbed in the other racial elements.

**Stream of Chinese Emigration**

The eastern margin of the Pacific—the American continent—seems specially designed for co-operating in this gradual work of unification. This view will probably meet with as little favour in the United States as will the suggestion that that country, still exuberant in its youthful strength, can expect to exercise its influence for ever. It looks, in fact, as if America were the continent which, after being for a long time inhabited by a single race, is suddenly about to collect all races upon its soil. We have no more striking proof of the force of oceanic influence and the historical importance of navigation. The mutual relations of the different races of America toward each other are very variable. The Indians of Central and South America, who led a settled, agricultural, and—according to their light—civilised kind of life in states of their own formation, were naturally unable to withdraw themselves from the influences of the white man to the same extent as the nomad hunting populations of North America and the wild tribes of the South. The civilised Indians suffered the consequences of subjection, and hence furnished rich material for the formation of mixed races. The hunting and primitive races, on the other hand, avoided all contact with the white man except in a hostile sense; they have accordingly suffered annihilation in the unequal combat, and have had to leave their settlements in the hands of those who have supplanted them. The whites, in their turn, especially in the tropical zone, have shown themselves neither willing nor able to bear the heavy burden of bodily labour on their own shoulders, and have therefore fastened it upon those of the subjected races. Where the latter were not present in sufficient abundance, or where their physical strength was not equal to the performance of the hard task demanded of them, other means of obtaining the necessary relief were resorted to. The institution of negro slavery in America forms one of the saddest chapters in the otherwise brilliant history of the white race; and though the nineteenth century may rest with the consciousness of having removed this shameful institution from the New World, and of having thus—at least partially—atoned for the sins of its fathers, this does not furnish any justification for letting pride at this act of civilisation banish our feeling of shame for the old moral wrong.

**Natives of America**

As things are to-day, America forms the centre whither stream the surplus populations of all the continents. It cannot resist this tide of immigration, inasmuch as there is still plenty of space for its reception. "In this crucible," says Friedrich Ratzel, "all the different races of mankind will become intermingled; there will, of course, be cases of retrogression or 'throwing back' in this process, but bastard races, when they are preponderant, have a considerable advantage over pure races." At the time of its discovery by Europeans, America was inhabited by a single race about whose numbers we have no information; but they certainly cannot have been very great. The densely populated Indian States of Central and South America formed mere oases within unpopulated deserts. At the present day, of its 100,000,000 inhabitants, 60,000,000 belong to the white race, 10,000,000 to the black, 9,000,000 to the red, 200,000 to the yellow, and some 20,000,000 to different mixed races. In this calculation are comprised the negro half-castes, to whom the pure negroes, however, are as one to four. Since this considerably increases the total of the mixed races, we may assume that about a fourth of the total population of America consists of mixed races. Now, every pure race can furnish the material for the formation of a mixed race, while the reverse is impossible; farther, every mixed race, in

**Crucible of the Nations**

the gradual crumbling away of neighbouring races grows at their expense by absorbing the fragments. From these considerations it would appear that America is likely, in the near future, to be the scene of a great and general fusion of races.

While the eastern margin of the Pacific basin appears in a state of active fermentation pregnant with events, its western margin also is being aroused into fresh activity. We have already remarked on the appearance on the Pacific coasts of Asia of the greatest continental Power in the world; we have seen how Australia has become an excellent point of support to the greatest naval Power; we are daily watching the interesting efforts at colonisation made by France, by the United States, and by the German Empire. It is therefore of special importance to consider the peculiar attitude assumed by the ancient civilised nations, the hereditary possessors of Eastern Asia, toward the successful invasion of the Pacific by the white race, which has now become a matter of history. In Japan, about the middle of the nineteenth century, a complete revolution was effected with surprising suddenness. Since that time the Japanese—or at least the influential classes among them—have been seized with a veritable passion for adopting all the institutions and customs of the white nations, even to the extent of imitating their external appearance in dress. The conditions are different in China. There, in spite of the multiplication of points of contact, we meet as yet with little comprehension of, and response to, European methods. On the contrary, it opposes to the invasion of the white race the mechanical obstacles of its immense superiority in number and density of population; and, more than this, it meets this invasion by an expansion on its own side, which, in spite of its apparently pacific character, forms, for the very reason of its being unavoidable, an extremely menacing factor. The waves of Chinese emigration radiate in all directions, but farthest to the side of least resistance—that is, across the Pacific Ocean. Here will of necessity be performed the first act of the inevitable struggle between the white and yellow races—a struggle viewed with much dread and fraught with much danger from the standpoint of ethnological history. Thus, if we cast a final backward glance over the Pacific, it appears at first as an element of separation and differentiation, assigning local limits to the various divisions or branches of the human race and providing them with the opportunity of accentuating and perpetuating peculiarities of type. Since this task has been completed, the ocean slowly and gradually, reversing its purpose, is destroying its own work, and tends in an opposite direction as an element of union, thus presenting us with a true image of the eternal circulating stream of Nature. The same glance reveals to us yellow, red, brown, and black races settling upon the coasts and islands of the ocean, stretching their limbs and extending themselves, supplanting or tolerating one another; soon, however, arriving at a certain pause from which only the yellow races emerge, owing to their great numbers and multiplying powers, while the rest degenerate in every direction.

**Attitude of Yellow Races**

**Coming Conflict of Races**



DE BOUGAINVILLE
Who commanded the first French expedition round the world.

At the present day we see only two important elements as natural antagonists upon the shores of the Pacific, each prepared and ready for the fray: they are the ancient indigenous yellow race and the newly arrived white race. Both are ably and well represented: the yellow by the Japanese and Chinese, the white by the English and North American.

In the recent war the West declined to recognise the struggle as the beginning of a battle for supremacy between the white and the yellow races; on the contrary, it showed its readiness to admit Japan into the comity of nations, rejecting the theory of inherent antagonism. If the time should come when the yellow and the white rise up against each other in a death grapple, Europe will repent of her standing aloof in the Russo-Japanese War. Whether she was wise in acting on the higher hope, time alone can show.

END OF VOLUME III.